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Ukraine, Kazakhstan Urged To Join Non-Proliferation Treaty

LD2210081293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0726 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations October 22 TASS—Russia calls on Ukraine and Kazakhstan to join without delay the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as non-nuclear states, said Russian Ambassador to the U.N. Yuliy Vorontsov, speaking at the First Committee (disarmament and international security) of the General Assembly on Thursday [21 October].

"The foreign policy of the Russian state," Vorontsov noted, "is aimed at implementing Russia's national and state interests through good-neighbourly relations, the stronger Commonwealth of Independent states, partnership with democratic states, the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and through other international institutions.

Noting that the conclusion of the Russian-U.S. treaty on cutting further and limiting strategic offensive weapons (START-2) as well as the multilateral convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons was the most important event this year, Vorontsov said that "the task now is to enforce these historic agreements as soon as possible".

In this connection, the Russian chief delegate pointed to the importance of enacting the START-1 Treaty at the earliest possible time. "The treaty has been already ratified by four (out of five) its members—Russia, the United States, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

"It is Ukraine's turn now. The Russian delegation calls on friendly Ukraine to ratify the START-1 Treaty as soon as possible, to fulfill its obligation under the Lisbon Protocol and to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state."

Vorontsov called the task of non-proliferation of mass destruction weapos and of their delivery vehicles a priority area in multilateral disarmament. He noted that Russia attaches great importance to preserving and strengthening the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty and to the regime created on its basis.

The Russian ambassador expressed conviction that the treaty should become universal, and that it should be given a status of unlimited duration at a 1955 [date as received] conference.

"We welcome the accession of Belarus to the treaty as a non- nuclear state and hope that the suit will be followed by Ukraine and Kazakhstan without delay as well as by other former Soviet republics which have not done so," the Russian representative concluded.

Nagorno-Karabakh Leader Criticizes CSCE Approaches to Peace

AU2110204093 Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Paris, Oct 21 (AFP)—Efforts by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to resolve the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh are "unlikely to succeed" if current attitudes persist, Robert Kocharian, the leader of the breakaway enclave said Thursday [21 October].

Kocharian told journalists at the end of a week's visit to France and Belgium that the key problem facing the CSCE-brokered Minsk conference was that "it was practically impossible" to reach a consensus if current "approaches" to the conflict did not change.

Kocharian stressed that all aspects of the conflict—the status of the enclave, the safety of the population and the lifting of Azerbaijan's blockade—would have to be resolved simultaneously. [passage omitted]

Kocharian said the last Minsk group meeting held in Paris late September had been the most productive yet and praised France for its role in advancing talks.

A guest of the French Academy of International Diplomacy, Kocharian spent the week meeting with officials from the French and Belgian foreign ministries, the European parliament, European Commission and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

He said the ceasefire between the enclave's troops and Azerbaijan—due to expire November 5 but pending renewal—depended on meetings between the two sides which have not yet taken place.

He added that he was not worried by the fact that Armenia has not recognised the enclave as a separate republic, explaining that Armenia was probably waiting for the appropriate moment.

"We do not want Armenia to be the only country to recognise us," he added.

More than 10,000 people have been killed and hundreds of thousands displaced in the battle over the enclave.

Russia 'Firmly Embarked' on Creation of Market Economy

LD1910211393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1301 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 19 TASS—Russia has firmly embarked on the creation of the market economy and adequate infrastructure, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian prime minister, told an international conference on banking. "We see in this a real way to overcome the economic crisis", he said.

Chernomyrdin said an effective national banking system is an important instrument in the transformation of the Russian economy. He said Russia has already created a banking system based on the division of labour characteristic of industrialised countries when the central bank deals with problems of money circulation while commercial banks service plants, factories, entrepreneurs. More than 1,800 commercial banks operate in the Russian territory at present, the prime minister said.

Chernomyrdin believes the year 1994 will become the year of the budget reform including the division of budgets and the adoption of their new classification. "Russia should switch from unitary to federal budget system", the prime minister said.

Russia To Pursue 'Tough' Policy

LD1910224793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1414 GMT 19 Oct 93

[By BUSINESS-TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Oct—The Russian Government intends to maintain its policy of tough financial stabilization. This means that by the end of the year Russia should receive the second tranche of credit which international financial organizations have promised as a means of underpinning the Russian economy. Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin announced this today at the opening session of the international conference on banking in Russia. He denied that this prospect would be undermined by the start of the election campaign, a time when politicians are prone to making lavish and populist promises which merely aggravate the problem of state budget deficits.

Referring to the problem of attracting foreign investment, Shokhin disclosed that the overall volume of foreign capital attracted to Russia comes to just 7 billion dollars. The reason for this is the continuing high risk associated with such investment and uncertainty over the legislative environment in this area. At the same time, he stressed, expert assessments show that the Russian economy has the potential to attract effective foreign investment of 40-50 billion dollars per annum.

Referring to access for foreign banks, the vice premier noted that the Russian government intended to stick to a policy of gradually introducing regulations governing the national banking sphere. However, he added, there is expected to be a transitional period of some 2-3 years during which Russian commercial banks will be able to prepare for tough competition from foreign banks. Shokhin said that such an approach was fully justified, since the EC is in no hurry, either, to open up its market to competing Russian enterprises, especially as regards road haulage and satellite launches.

'Year of Budget Reform' Viewed

PM2110150593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Budget Reform Due in 1994"]

[Text] Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin considers that an effective banking system is a most important instrument in carrying out economic transformations. He stated this while addressing participants in the Second International Conference on Banking in Russia, which opened in Moscow on Tuesday. Dozens of representatives of foreign and Russian banks have gathered at the forum, which is organized by the Central Bank of Russia and the Association of Russian Banks.

Chernomyrdin said that he sees the creation of a stable modern banking system, major banks, and private pension funds, support for small business, and the creation of a network of small savings banks as the government's chief tasks at the present time.

The head of government reported that the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, together with the country's Central Bank, intends to improve surety law and create a chamber of underwriters and a system for insuring commercial risks.

According to the head of cabinet, the cabinet is switching from the approach whereby enterprises' nonpayments are sorted out after the event to the normalization of trade turnover by means of introducing banking and commercial bills of exchange. Chernomyrdin compared this step to the deregulation of prices in terms of its significance. He confirmed the Russian Government's intention to take the most serious and strict anti-inflationary measures. In this regard the head of cabinet reported that the budget deficit for the fourth quarter of this year is planned to be 4.6 trillion rubles [R]. It will be covered by a Central Bank of Russia credit.

According to Viktor Chernomyrdin, 1994 will be a year of budgetary reform in Russia, when the country will have to switch from a unitary to a federal budget system, which, in his opinion, will make it possible to break the financial deadlock. The premier also promised a cutback in the licensing of goods for export. He observed that it is planned to license only the export of strategic goods in the future.

He urged Western investors to invest capital in Russia, noting that the inflow of investment is one of the prerequisites for the economy overcoming the crisis.

Interstate Technical-Scientific Session Opens in Chisinau

AU2010202793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2139 GMT 19 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 19/10/1993—Tomorrow, in Chisinau an annual interstate technical-scientific session will take place. In the conference participate delegates from Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Russian Federation and Moldova. This session which is gathered already the third time, will examine some aspects of technical-scientific policy of states which signed the Moscow Agreement of cooperation in March 1992. The conference will also touch the question of increasing the efficiency of some enterprises in this domain. The agenda also includes debates on common editorial activity, interstate programs of researches and unification of the taxation system, states the bulletin of the session.

'Coordinated Economic Organs' Urgently Needed

PM2210162793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Krasulin report taken from material provided by Radio Moscow International under the "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries" rubric: "Commentary: The Economic Situation of CIS Countries—An Incentive For Them To Integrate"]

[Text] Belarus Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has repeatedly expressed the belief that his republic would not survive either economically or politically without cooperation with Russia. Belarus, in his words, has virtually no resources, and this is one of the reasons why it is interested in maintaining close economic links with Russia. All CIS countries have an interest in just such links with that country and other former Soviet republics. The Treaty on Economic Union Between Indepenent States signed in Moscow 24 September is intended to revive the single economic area destroyed by the collapse of the former USSR. Its participants cited a mass of examples which confirmed the need for economic integration.

However, to switch Russia's relations with Ukraine and Belarus to a strictly commercial basis today not only would entail the definitive collapse of their economies owing to a lack of hard currency resources for mutual accounting, but this in turn would bring about a slump in production and increased unemployment at Russian enterprises linked with these republics. Right now in Belarus it is pointed out that not a single item of the agreement to supply produce and commodities to the republic is being fulfilled by CIS states.

What, then, is the problem? The problem is that it takes time to achieve genuine integration, ruling out the possibility of failure to honor commitments assumed. This is happening because the republics are still divided by customs, tax, and tariff barriers. They have yet to set up a common financial system of accounting for all. Its absence is also contributing to the problem of nonpayment and the failure to deliver goods. This is why, speaking in September at a meeting of Commonwealth heads of state, President Boris Yeltsin said that there can be no delay in setting up coordinated economic organs. In his view, what is needed is an economic committee endowed with the powers to resolve pressing day-to-day problems quickly. Such a committee is needed to set the Treaty on Economic Union in motion. In order to bring this document into force it is necessary to adopt in excess of another 30 agreements on finance, duties, and the movement of goods.

The absence of such a mechanism is not in the Commonwealth countries' interests. Ukraine has supplied Belarus with just one-tenth of the vegetable oil and sugar stipulated by agreements. Promised supplies of cotton fiber to Belarus from Uzbekistan have fallen short by almost one-third.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin suggests that, provided that the necessary documents capable of starting up the mechanism provided for by the Treaty on Economic Union are signed by the end of the year, it will be possible to halt the slump in production in Russia and other Commonwealth states before the end of 1994. Their vital interest in close integration must be expected to accelerate the process of setting up just such an organizational mechanism.

Commonwealth Newspaper Expected in 1994

PM2210154593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Krasulin report, based on Radio Moscow International material, under the "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries" rubric: "Moscow"]

[Text] A draft decision by the heads of CIS countries to launch a new newspaper, SODRUZHESTVO NEZAVISIMYKH GOSUDARSTV—OBSHCHIY RYNOK [Commonwealth of Independent States—Common Market], is being prepared by Commonwealth experts. INTERFAX has reported that this weekly supplement to Yegor Yakovlev's OBSHCHAYA GAZETA is expected to appear in 1994 with an initial print run of 100,000 copies. It is planned to allocate 950 million rubles and $200,000 from the Commonwealth countries' budget for publishing the newspaper.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Oct

LD2310071293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0603 GMT 23 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 23 ITAR-TASS—Moscow newspapers highlight today the continuing work on the draft constitution of Russia and preparations for elections to a

new legislative authority. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA frontpages an article, which says that the provision on the sovereignty of the republics has been removed from the draft constitution. According to the newspaper, the Tatar and Bashkir leaders believe that "this is an attempt to revive the Russian empire." It quotes chief of staff of the president's administration Sergey Filatov as saying that the term of sovereignty of the republics was removed from the draft document, because its keeping there may have "unpredictable consequences". The authors of the article come to the conclusion that this statement is evidence of a further offensive of the Democratic Russia Movement, "whose leaders have long disliked the independence of the former autonomous entities."

Aside from it, the text of the federal treaty has also been removed from the draft constitution, which may "hamper the implementation of President Yeltsin's plans of having the new Russian constitution adopted at the December referendum: The population of most of the republics will regard the absence of the federal treaty and of the term of sovereignty as something close to national humiliation," the newspaper writes. Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that the sovereignty of the republics has not been invented by Sergey Filatov of Moscow participants in the constitutional conference. It is the choice of peoples of those republics. In the opinion of Shaymiyev, if the principle of sovereignty is ignored, "it will be the Russian empire of the Russian monarchy, not the Russian Federation." Commenting on Filatov's statement, Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkir parliament, agreed with Shaymiyev. "Now it is not the time for the Kremlin to impose its will on peoples of the region, telling them how they should organise their life," he said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA believes today's visit of President Yeltsin to Yaroslavl to attend the ceremony of opening a monument to Grand Duke Yaroslav the wise, who founded the city in 1010, is also connected with Russia's future as a single state. Yaroslav the wise contributed a great deal to the consolidation of Russia's statehood. "The fact that our state leaders have turned their attention to the personality of Duke Yaroslav and his deeds is symptomatic and deserves a deeper analysis. We believe this means a radical change in the mentality and the way of acting of the democratic forces and primarily the president: From the decentralisation of the authority in the country according to the principle 'take as much sovereignty as you can cope with' to a course towards a united and indivisible state," the newspaper points out.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an analytical article, entitled "Abkhazia: the same history, but different approaches to it". It analyses the sources of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and possible ways of the development of the situation in Abkhazia. Several versions are put forward concerning who initially inhabited Abkhazia—Georgians or Abkhazians, or perhaps Abkhazia has always been characterised by the symbiosis of the Georgian and Abkhazian cultures. "However, the most important problem for the new state, on whose solution the future of national minorities depends, is the choice of geopolitical orientation," the newspaper writes. "There are to trends among the Abkhazian leadership. Part of the Abkhazian leaders are determined to link the future of their country with Russia... Others, however, stick to a different idea—the orientation towards the confederation of the Caucasian nations."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Russia. The newspaper points out that Christopher came to this country for reiterating President Clinton's support. At the same time, the newspaper believes that "the October developments have seriously eroded the reputation of Yeltsin and those who supported him" and that "the president has retained power with the help of tanks", which was stressed on those days by representatives of the republican party, on whom the character and amount of U.S. assistance to Russia depends a great deal. "This is why Warren Christopher reminded in Moscow of Washington's desire that the parliamentary elections next December should be open, free and just," the newspaper writes.

Reviews 24 Oct 'Itogi' Program

LD2510072393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0602 GMT 25 Oct 93

["Review of Television Analytical News Programme Itogi"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 25 ITAR-TASS—Last week's most dramatic events on the territory of the former Soviet Union took place, undoubtedly, in Georgia, where armed forces of the ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia undertook the most serious attempt since Gamsakhurdia had been deposed to restore him to power in Tbilisi, according to the television analytical news programme Itogi (summing up) this past Sunday. The government forces almost succeeded to shake off their own petrification at the very end of the week and turn the tables to push back the threat to Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, Itogi host Yevgeniy Kiselev said.

Commenting on the situation in Georgia, Kiselev stressed that the central event was Shevardnadze's decree on Georgia's membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States, which came after the Georgian leader's repeated declarations of his own scepticism with regard to the Commonwealth.

The situation in Ukraine was singled out by Kiselev as one of the most important topics last week. He noted that "under pressure from the bloodshed in moscow, the parliament in kiev reached a consensus regarding an entire range of problems which were considered in light of the country's national security". The new leadership of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry lamented the sorry

state of things in Ukraine's 700,000-strong army which lacks money, fuel and prospects. Probably for this reason the parliament did not drag feet in approving the military doctrine which provides for the development of a mobile modern army relying on defence tactics. The doctrine calls for an army of no more than 450,000 troops, which will still leave Kiev with one of the strongest European armies. The new strategy proclaimed by President Kravchuk provides for the creation of "a special Ukrainian model". The principal components of the new policy is a social market economy which, according to Kravchuk, must be guided by centrist forces and a strong military-industrial complex.

Itogi featured President Kravchuk's recent interview in which he told journalists that "Ukraine will undoubtedly export 130 old nuclear missiles from its territory but 46 SS-24 missiles may remain on Ukrainian soil but will be removed from combat duty". Most of the Ukrainian parliament members have been pressing for this for a long time and the majority of the population tend to be convinced of the same. Kiev is ready to become a nuclear-free country only when it gets enough money for disarmament and guarantees of security. The Ukrainian president's statement to this effect ahead of U.S. secretary of state's visit to Kiev must show Ukraine's confidence in its claims to remain, albeit for some time, a guest at the nuclear club's table. But these claims can be dashed against the tough reality of the country's everyday life. Inflation in Ukraine has reached a rate comparable only to that in Yugoslavia. The Karbovanets has already plummeted to 29,000 to the dollar and the budget deficit has exceeded the target figure fourteen times. The production slump has become chronic. Western economists describe the present situation in Ukraine as hyper-depression. The Ukrainian Government virtually headed by Kravchuk has called for a special transition period towards a market economy.

The situation in Russia at the beginning of the election campaign was called by Kiselev as "confused and confusing". "A week ago we spoke about the main parties and blocs intending to take part in the elections and said there were ten such parties. Today the number stands at 17," Kiselev said. The lists of these parties are already coming in to the Central Electoral Commission but, according to Kiselev, they are mainly lists of parties, movements and blocs which are doomed to be outsiders. He said the only exception was probably a new bloc formed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Yuriy Boldyrev and Russia's ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin. The lists of candidates nominated by this bloc include some other celebrities with reputation of consistent supporters of reforms, who are also known for their independent, often critical thinking about the president's team.

Nonetheless, even experts find it difficult to pinpoint the essential differences between some parties and blocs, all of which favour reforms on the whole. Kiselev pointed to the afore-mentioned Yavlinskiy bloc and the Party of Russian Unity and Concord generally referred to as the Sergey Shakhray party. Kiselev said most people would likely vote on December 12 not for a party but for specific personalities on their election tickets or against them.

This is probably why most of the parties and blocs which are now seen as favourites are making no haste in publicising their lists of candidates in the hope to avoid error in selecting those on whom to make their main stake, Itogi said.

IZVESTIYA Says U.S. Will Offer NATO Membership

LD2210140993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] IZVESTIYA has received information that the United States is ready to offer Russia full NATO membership. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who has begun talks in Moscow with the Russian leaders, will have preliminarily discussed this proposal.

U.S. President Clinton will officially announce this idea at the meeting of NATO heads of states and governments in Brussels in January.

IZVESTIYA also reports that the secretary of state will make an important foreign policy speech, mainly devoted to Russian-American relations, in Moscow on Saturday.

NATO's Expansion Viewed

LD2210213193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Diplomatic sources told Interfax that the American team at talks between Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Secretary of State Warren Christopher wanted to have better insight into the Russian "reservations" concerning the possible joining of NATO by Russia's former Warsaw Pact allies.

A senior Russian diplomat told Interfax that it was up to East Europeans themselves to decide whether to join NATO, for, unlike the former Union, Russia does not intend to infringe on their sovereignty.

"But we call on both East Europeans and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (which Russia does not regard as its enemy and which it may join itself some time later) to think again, if there is much sense in expanding NATO today when neither NATO nor Eastern Europe are threatened by anybody," the diplomat said.

Offer To Join NATO Viewed

PM2210182193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Oct 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Moscow Offered NATO Membership"]

[Text] The United States is ready to offer Russia full membership of the North Atlantic alliance. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who began talks with Russian leaders in Moscow on Friday, will discuss this proposal in preliminary form, and then, in January, at a meeting of heads of state and government of NATO member countries in Brussels, President William Clinton will propose this idea completely officially.

The secretary of state began his meetings in Moscow in Staraya Ploshchad: At 1000 hours he was received by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, with whom, as far as I understand, he mainly discussed Russian-U.S. business relations and preparation for the visit to the Russia in November of U.S. Vice President Albert Gore, who is cochairman jointly with our premier of the joint commission on cooperation in the sphere of power engineering and space.

The proposal that Russia should join NATO is being examined in detail at Christopher's talks with Andrey Kozyrev and will almost certainly be one of the key elements of the conversation which Boris Yeltsin will hold with the secretary of state on Friday afternoon in his country residence in Zavidovo.

According to the assessments of experts, in offering us membership of the North Atlantic alliance Washington is guided, in particular, by a desire to neutralize the Kremlin's apprehension and concern over the possible entry to NATO of a number of former Warsaw Pact countries—Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland. Moscow, which initially reacted with understanding to the readiness of these countries to join the alliance, has substantially changed its stance: A letter recently circulated round Western leaders by Boris Yeltsin voices objections to the expansion of NATO through the addition of former socialist countries.

It should be noted that in Clinton's own administration there is no full unity on this question. There is friction between Christopher and Defense Minister Les Aspin, who favors not being too hasty with expanding the alliance's ranks.

In any case, Christopher, according to reports from informed sources, will assure Moscow that they will definitely liaise and consult with it as regards NATO's plans concerning the former Warsaw bloc countries.

The agenda for the secretary of state's meetings in Moscow and Zavidovo also include questions of possible peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia and the implementation by the United Nations of new sanctions against Libya, which is still refusing to hand over two persons suspected of destroying a Boeing-747 passenger airplane over Scotland in December 1988. Russia, it has been reported, has already intimated that it will resort to its right of veto and block the adoption by the UN Security Council of the corresponding resolution. The motives for this stance are primarily economic: The resolution could cost us in the order of $4 billion, which Libya owes to Russia and which could be frozen as a result of sanctions.

Presumably, a powerful stimulus will be required for Russia to allow itself to change its stance on this issue.

Unfortunately, the program of Christopher's visit is composed in such a way that it does not coincide very well with IZVESTIYA's production schedule: The concluding press conference, at which many of the questions which can only be talked about in terms of probabilities

at the moment are bound to be clarified, is projected for the late evening, when IZVESTIYA will have already been signed to press.

We will report only that the U.S. Embassy has announced that on Saturday the secretary of state will deliver an important foreign policy speech devoted mainly to Russian-U.S. relations.

Ties With U.S. Viewed on Eve of Christopher's Visit

LD2210193193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] Russia and the United States are discussing various aspects of the relations between the two countries in connection with an official visit of the American Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, to Moscow and the negotiations that will take place on Friday and Saturday in the Russian capital. Our news analyst Vladislav Kozyakov takes a look at the situation before the talks.

It should be noticed that before Warren Christopher's departure Washington had announced that early next year President Bill Clinton would come to Russia on an official visit. A State Department official has reported that the American president will meet with the Russian President Boris Yeltsin to express support for the political and economic reform carried out by the Russian leadership. And the current visit of the American state secretary to Moscow aims at starting preparations for the forthcoming Russian-American summit.

The relations in partnership between Russia and the United States of America continue to develop and promise to get a new impetus. Since the Vancouver summit the cooperation between the two countries has reached a new and higher level. Apparently it would be hard to count all those exchange, cooperation, contacts and other programs that have been fulfilled or being acted upon at the current moment by Russia and the United States in keeping with the Vanceuver agreements between Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, but life inevitably sets new imperatives that demand attention.

According to some sources the American secretary of state, during his stay in Moscow, will try to reaffirm his support for the Russian reforms and democracy. At the same time he is going to express his opinion as to the coming parliamentary elections in Russia and to stress the importance of granting freedom to the mass media. This shows the traditional American striving for democracy, though the fact that foreign observers have been invited to participate in the elections speaks for itself.

The Russian side has a number of questions as well that concern Russia's national interests. It often happens that the United States tries to exert pressure in international problems. An example to this may serve with the demands about the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia and Estonia. The fact that the given issue is the subject of difficult talks between Russia and these two countries, is ignored by the States, and naturally, any pressure from the United States or any other state, is out of place here.

Unfortunately the old stereotypes of the Cold War make themselves felt in American policy. The American Congress has neither cancelled the trade barriers nor lifted the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions on export to Russia and it's dragging its feet over its commitments that would grant Russia an access to world markets.

It so happens that the position of the Russian delegation is not fully taken into account when the United Nations decisions concerning Russia's financial interests are being prepared. For one, the preparation for the draft resolution on Libya, and still those American observers are hardly right when they predict a shift to the former times in the Russian-American relations. The future undoubtedly belongs to a broader partnership. The U.S. secretary of state adviser, Strobe Talbott, has made an encouraging statement to the effect that when he visits Moscow President Clinton will be able to tell President Yeltsin that quite a few Cold War relics are gone, never to return.

Chernomyrdin, Christopher Talks Reported

LD2210142593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived in Russia today for an official visit. Undoubtedly, the main subject of the talks in the Kremlin will be preparing the ground for the forthcoming meeting between the two countries' presidents that the U.S. White House intends to hold with emphasis on the development of strategic partnership and equal relations between Washington and Moscow.

[Correspondent Suntsov] The Russian Government intends to continue to abide steadfastly by the reform policy. The world community should not be worried by the policy chosen, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin declared during the meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. On the whole, questions of economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed, as well as the implementation of the program that was determined during the Russian prime minister's visit to the United States, and the situation inside Russia. The forthcoming parliamentary elections will be free and democratic the distinguished American visitor was assured.

Those attending the meeting would tell journalists nothing about the details of the discussion of economic problems. However, bearing in mind the importance of the question of investment in the Russian economy, journalists asked whether there was talk of additional help for Russia. Viktor Chernomyrdin thought it appropriate to stress:

[Begin Chernomyrdin recording] As was said during the visit to the United States, now too our position is absolutely unambiguous. It has remained the same as when we spoke last. And today I confirmed once again: We do not want to act as supplicants. We want to be partners. [end recording]

[Suntsov] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher noted that during the visit to Moscow by U.S. Vice President Gore in mid- December, a wide range of issues relating to cooperation between the two countries would be discussed.

Yeltsin Meets Christopher

LD2210181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today received U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is in Moscow on a working visit, the press service of the Russian president reported.

On behalf of U.S. President Bill Clinton, Warren Christopher expressed complete support for the measures taken by the Russian president to restore law and order in Moscow at the begining of October and wished him success in guaranteeing the holding of elections to the Federal Assembly of Russia on 11-12 December, in keeping with the generally-accepted democratic standards.

Boris Yeltsin noted Russia's readiness to receive international observers, to study the experience of free and just elections in other countries, while paying attention to the technical aspects applicable in Russian conditions.

At the instructions of Bill Clinton, Warren Christoher informed the Russian president of the proposals that the United States presented to NATO this week on partnership with this organization by countries of Europe which at present are not part of the North Atlantic alliance. Boris Yeltsin characterized these proposals as positive and in principle worthy of support.

The Russian president confirmed the invitiation to Bill Clinton to pay a state visit to Russia. Conditionally, such a visit could take place roughly in the middle of January 1994.

Agreement Reached on Gore Visit

LD2210182493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1730 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Oct—U.S. President Bill Clinton will visit Russia in January 1994, immediately after the end of the conference of leaders and heads of NATO member-states. However, the precise date of the visit to Moscow by the head of the U.S. Administration has not yet been set. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said at a news conference here today after his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

According to him, an agreement was reached during the talks today on the schedule for the visit to Moscow by U.S. Vice President Albert Gore. It will take place from 16 to 18 December this year.

On the whole, assessing the talks that took place with the Russian leaders, Warren Christopher stressed that his expectations of them "were completely justified in a whole series of directions."

Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who took part in the news conference, fully shared a similar assessment of the exchange of views that took place. In his opinion, the talks confirmed "the spirit of Vancouver and of partnership."

Kozyrev, Christopher Say Talks 'Fruitful'

LD2210201293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy with recorded remarks by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev at news conference with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on 22 Oct [illegible] from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report from our correspondent about the news conference held by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the results of his talks in Moscow.

[Beletskiy] Half an hour ago, a joint news conference ended at the Russian Foreign Ministry press center. It was given by Andrey Kozyrev and Warren Christopher, who came here directly from Zavidovo after his meeting with President Yeltsin.

[Kozyrev] I think the secretary of state will agree if I sum up the talks as confirmation of the Vancouver spirit of partnership. The talk has at times been very frank on those issues where this partnership has already taken on flesh and blood, which applies to the majority of issues, and also on those aspects where concrete interaction still has to be brought to the level that is definitely the firm choice of the two countries. President Yeltsin has, in particular, emphasized yet again that Russia is not changing its foreign policy and is not changing its firm orientation of partnership with the U.S. and other foreign partners.

[Beletskiy] In his turn, Warren Christopher stressed that he had had a very full and fruitful day meeting Russia's leaders. He noted that what had been achieved during the day had exceeded his expectations and progress had been achieved in several spheres. Christopher said that he had handed Boris Yeltsin a personal message from Bill Clinton, in which the U.S. President reaffirmed support for Russia's policy of democracy and reform. The secretary of state said that Clinton will come to Moscow in January to meet the Russian president and to declare that he is with the Russians in their fight for progress and freedom.

Kozyrev, Christopher News Conference

LD2210205693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] On 22 October, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev held a joint news conference at the end of the Russo-American talks in Moscow. Yelena Samdonirskaya reports.

[Samdonirskaya] Andrey Kozyrev said in his introduction that the talks Warren Christopher had held with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin were extremely frank and took place on the basis of partnership. During the talks, Boris Yeltsin again said that Russian foreign policy remained unchanged. Andrey Kozyrev, the head of the Russian Foreign Policy Department, told Russian and foreign journalists assembled about the course of U.S. Secretary of State Christopher's visit, which continues tomorrow.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] During the course of the visit, we told our American friends and colleagues—informing each other is the accepted thing between us—about how the situation in the country is developing. We stressed the firm determination to hold free and honest elections while ensuring the freedom of the press and election campaigns, except of those forces, of course, that are directly connected with the crimes and terrorism during the recent armed mutiny.

We discussed issues of economic cooperation. We expressed satisfaction at the efforts being made by the U.S. Administration to implement Clinton's package and also at the assistance and cooperation within the framework of the G-7 and other international institutions that we value, although first and foremost we are relying on ourselves. [end recording]

[Samdonirskaya] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in his introductory speech that the next summit meeting between the presidents of Russia and the United States would take place in Moscow at the start of next year, and Vice President Gore and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin are set meet in mid-December this year. Warren Christopher then went on to deal with the problems of the mass media in Russia. In his words, he had convinced himself of their free and independent nature when he looked at Russian newpapers this morning. The U.S. secretary of state said that during his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, discussions were held on issues such as Russia's discharge of radioactive substances into the Sea of Japan and the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states, for which Warren Christopher sets off immediately after Russia. Dealing with the latter issue, the state secretary said that the United States supports Russia's position. The troops would be withdrawn when all civil rights of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic were observed. The U.S. secretary of state said that the U.S. Congress was working on a package of draft laws that would lift the discriminatory economic restrictions imposed on Russia. The U.S. secretary of state's visit to Russia continues tomorrow.

Cooperation With NATO, U.S. 'Essential'

LD2310101293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] There is evidence that the North Atlantic treaty must update its structures. The alliance was founded to counter the Soviet threat—the threat which is no more. How then is the alliance supposed to revamp its structures to justify its continued existence and to contribute to the efforts to build a world of mutual trust and cooperation?

The ideas presented by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin in Travemuende and Secretary of State Christopher in Moscow are suggesting tentative answers to those questions. Secretary Aspin called for what he described as partnership for peace. More specifically he suggested that the alliance sign cooperation agreements with 25 countries including those of the dissolved Warsaw Pact and also Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland. Most important is Aspin's suggestion for the conclusion of a partnership agreement between NATO and Russia.

Secretary Christopher, however, went even further than Secretary Aspin. He called for Russian membership of NATO. Speaking in Moscow on Friday, he said President Clinton would raise the issue at a NATO meeting in Brussels in January.

New realities are calling for cooperation in Europe. On the one hand some East European nations as well as the former Soviet Baltic republics are knocking on NATO's door, but in the event the alliance opens the door to the callers, Russia will find itself isolated. Instead of promoting stability in Europe this turn of events would breed mistrust, suspicion, and even confrontation. Neither Eastern and Western Europe nor North America would welcome it, which explains the search for new ideas and non-traditional approaches.

The countries involved may be expected to keep discussing in greater detail plans for military cooperation and moves to safeguard European security. Already they have accumulated some experience in the field. The council of North Atlantic cooperation integrates both countries of the dissolved Warsaw Pact and the member nations of NATO.

The spread of partnership to Europe as a whole and North America as a whole have come to dominate the international agenda. And this is what really counts. The political stereotypes of the Cold War period are fading into oblivion, while blueprints are being drawn up for close cooperation in the field of security. The Russian-U.S. partnership is essential. The meeting Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton are planning to hold next January in

Moscow will, too, be expected to advance cooperation. Secretary Christopher is visiting the Russian capital to lay the groundwork for the January summit.

Christopher Cited on Ukraine Visit

LD2210215393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Here is a report on a press conference by Warren Christopher and Andrey Kozyrev that ended a few hours ago.

[Correspondent A. Peslyak] Christopher remarked that the U.S. leadership firmly backs the course of reform and after the NATO summit meeting the U.S. vice president and afterwards the U.S. President will be arriving in Moscow. Many military issues were discussed in the capital including the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries with the safeguarding of the rights of their Russian-speaking population, nonproliferation of missile technology, and a new initiative on nuclear fissile materials. Peace efforts will be supplemented by mine-clearing action in view of the special danger of such types of armaments as landmines.

When asked by the Vesti correspondent what he was taking to Kiev, the U.S. diplomat answered that he would be insisting on the implementation of joint accords, accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, ratification of the START II Treaty, and the dismantling of Ukraine's nuclear warheads and missiles.

Kozyrev virtually declined to answer a question from the Vesti correspondent as to what constructive criticism the Russian side is presenting to its partner. The minister noted only that he would like the burden of Russia's peacemaking efforts to be shared and an international fund of material support would, he said, help in this.

In conclusion Christopher added that he hopes to persuade the U.S. Senate from the end of this year to lift the trade and other economic restrictions relating to Russia.

Christopher Speaks at Academy

LD2310101793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Oct—After the drastic changes of recent years, Russia still remains a great power. This is guaranteed by its profound and rich culture, enormous resources, scientific achievements, and strong will, said U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, speaking at the Academy of National Economy in Moscow today. The end of the Cold War, he said, provides Russia and the U.S. with an opportunity to be not only great powers but partners in a joint search for a safer, freer, and more prosperous world.

The U.S. secretary of state expressed his deep conviction that Russian democracy and the market economy are supporting each other. The will of the Russian people to achieve freedom will bring to power not just one party but the entire Russian people. In this connection, Christopher stressed that American support is being given not to a particular group of leaders but to the revolutionary process itself, the process of reform. By reform, he means the transformation of the dictatorial political system into a democracy and the transformation of the centrally controlled economy into a market economy. This reform also ensures a successful foreign policy, based on observing the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all states, while protecting and defending the lawful interests of Russia itself.

We admit, the U.S. secretary of state pointed out, governments are responsible for maintaining public order which, among other things, is a basis for human rights. But even in the time of an intensive political struggle, the necessity of public order should be combined with the freedom of speech. Even during the time of fighting against reaction, true democrats should not be afraid of the free press. In this connection, he expressed satisfaction with the assurances made by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev yesterday that the freedom of the press will be respected since Russia is holding free, open, and fair elections in December.

Christopher said the U.S. is prepared, if asked, to offer immediate technical aid in holding the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Russia. Our consultations, he pointed out, will concentrate on practical matters of holding free elections, ranging from educating the voters to observing the voting. As in all other countries where we support the election process, any help that we are prepared to give Russia will be politically neutral, non-party and accessible to all parties and groups participating in the elections, the U.S. secretary of state stressed.

Gaydar Discusses Technical Issues With Christopher

LD2310124993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Excerpt] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher today had a meeting behind closed doors with Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar. After the talks, Yegor Gaydar told an Interfax correspondent that technical problems of the Russian- American cooperation were discussed, along with issues connected with the implementation of the documents of the G-7 summit in Tokyo, the financing of the Russian arms reduction program, and the setting up of a fund to assist privatization. [passage omitted]

Christopher Links Aid to Moscow With Pace Of Reform

LD2310162693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] U.S. intends to give economic aid to Russia, but it will be coordinated with the pace of reform in Russia. Declaring this in the Economics Academy in Moscow on Saturday, the Secretary of State Warren Christopher recalled that in 1993 U.S. pledged to provide $1.6 billion for bilateral programs, and in Tokyo in July, U.S. offered a special program worth $3 billion for privatization and reform in Russia. Last month, Christopher remarked, U.S. Congress met the Clinton administration's request for $2.5 billion in additional technical and humanitarian aid for Russia.

On the possibility of lifting restrictions in the American legislation on trade with Russia, he made it clear that there were excellent chances that U.S. Congress would lift them even by the end of this year.

He voiced confidence that the democratic forces would prevail at elections to the Federal Assembly in Russia in December and stressed that whenever the Russian people had been offered a choice, it had always chosen reform rather than stagnation, hope rather than fear, future rather than past.

Russia, he went on to say, deserves free and fair elections. Christopher said that if Moscow requested assistance in parliamentary elections, Washington could immediately provide it by consultations on practical matters and by sending observers to monitor the voting. He emphasized that such aid would be politically neutral, non-party, and accessible to all election participants.

In his opinion, the expression of disagreement, open debates in the election campaign plus the free press are important elements of a democratic civilized society.

He reminded the audience that in the recent crisis Washington had sided with the Russian president since his measures were prompted by exceptional circumstances. Russia's Parliament and Constitution, he continued, were vestiges of the Soviet communist past and obstacles to democratic reform, Christopher said. By his election call, President Yeltsin reiterated the people's right to vote and guaranteed their participation in reform in Russia.

On priorities in cooperation with Russia, Christopher referred to the problem of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons across the former USSR. He complimented Belarus for the fulfillment of its commitments on START-1 and on the nuclear non-proliferation accord. The Secretary of State welcomed the decision of Kazakhstan and Ukraine to follow suit.

After that speech, Christopher had a private meeting with Russia's First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar.

As Gaydar has told Interfax, the talks focussed on "technical problems" facing Russo-American cooperation, "the Tokyo package included" and on finances for a program to reduce Russian arms and for a privatization assistance fund.

Christopher Stresses Reform Process

LD2310210893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Speaking at the Academy of the National Economy in Moscow today, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is now in Kazakhstan, stressed that the object of U.S. support is not one particular group of leaders but the revolutionary process—the process of reform in Russia—itself. By reform, Christopher means the transformation of the political system of dictatorship into a democracy. He stressed that even at times of intense political struggle, the need for civic order should go together with freedom of expression.

This subject, as applied specifically to access to the media, was also discussed at today's meeting of the Public Chamber of the Constitutional Conference. Several other very important issues of principle were also raised, so listen to our correspondent's dispatch. We have even given him slightly more airtime than we usually do.

[Correspondent Sergey Suntsov] Russia's federal structure remains a contentious issue. Sergey Filatov, leader of the working party, admitted that Article 5 of the Constitution has had a difficult birth but has not brought agreement. Let me recall that krays and oblasts are seeking equal rights with republics. They proposed a version of Article 5 which excludes clauses referring to Russia as a federal state and describing the republics in Russia as sovereign states, and says instead that Russia consists of members [subyekty] with equal rights, although republics are granted the right to their own constitution and legislation.

Articles 6 and 11 have likewise been changed.

[Begin Filatov recording] Many of the wordings artificially inserted here could also be dangerous from the viewpoint of the state's future development, in terms of the integrity of that state and its preservation. The wordings which we have found are the most apt and they ought, generally speaking, to satisfy all the members of the Federation. [end recording]

[Suntsov] As for the Federation Treaty, it will evidently be excluded from the draft constitution.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] The federation cannot be subject to a treaty. The Constitution cannot contain any

federation treaties. However, the provisions of the Federation Treaty, as a democratic achievement, must be reflected in the constitution. Thus, my view coincides entirely with Filatov's.

[Suntsov] Anxious about the threat to Russia's unity, participants in the conference are continuing for example to express the view that the national-territorial principle governing the structure of Russia should be abandoned, or that Russia should switch to a federation of republics and lands which would be enlarged oblasts. The draft constitution will undergo changes from the summer version.

[Begin Sobchak recording] We are indeed proposing abandoning a whole series of compromise wordings. [end recording]

[Suntsov] As Anatoliy Sobchak observed, it is proposed to make changes in four major areas: the federal structure, the balance between branches of authority, local self-government, and the system of justice.

Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, announced that the process of setting up 225 constituency electoral commissions, excluding Chechnya, is complete, and that regulations have been drawn up governing candidates' access to the media. However, participants criticized those regulations, when members of the government who have put forward their candidacy have in effect made use of their official position to start their election campaign—a benefit that others did not have. The Public Chamber recommended setting up a commission to monitor the elections.

Christopher Leaves Moscow for Almaty

LD2310122793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who paid an official visit to Russia, flew to Almaty from Moscow today.

During his two-day visit to the Russian capital he was received by President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and held intensive talks with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

On behalf of U.S. President Bill Clinton, Christopher expressed full support for the measures, taken by the Russian president for restoring law and order in Moscow early in October, and wished success in holding elections to the Federal Assembly in conformity with the generally recognised democratic standards. He said the U.S. was ready to render technical assistance to Russia in holding the parliamentary elections, which will be neutral, non-party and avalable to all the parties and groups taking part in the elections.

During Christopher's meeting with Russian leaders they exchanged views on a wide range of international problems, including the situation in the CIS member states, which the U.S. secretary of state intends to visit after Russia.

Christopher Visit Viewed; More on Lukin's Staying as Envoy

MK2210114593 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Oct 93 p 4

[Georgiy Bovt report: "U.S. Secretary of State's Visit. Christopher Came In Person To Back Boris Yeltsin"]

[Excerpts] Last night, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is on a tour of East Europe and the former USSR, arrived in Moscow from Budapest. Before leaving Washington he made it clear that the main objective of his trip to Russia and the CIS, as he sees it—in addition to expressing "support for Boris Yeltsin's democratic reform"—is to straighten out the matter of nuclear weapons subject to cuts under START I and START II agreements. KOMMERSANT-DAILY observer Georgiy Bovt analyzes the prospects of the talks. [passage omitted]

If the stances of Moscow and Washington are fairly close on this subject, a number of other issues do not promise a smooth discussion. First of all is Russia's threat to veto a UN resolution on tightening sanctions against Libya (prompted by Tripoli's stubborn refusal to extradite terrorists responsible for the explosion of a U.S. passenger plane in 1988). The two sides have different reasons for sticking to their stances: the United States is concerned about the fight against Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, while Russia would like to have Libya's debt repaid and to revive trade with the USSR's long-standing partner. As a matter of fact, according to reports from sources at the Russian Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, preparations are under way for a visit by a high-ranking delegation to Libya.

Another "sensitive matter" is expected to be the problem of NATO's expansion by admitting East European countries to this organization, and stepping up the alliance's activity in peacekeeping operations in Europe. Moscow's chilly attitude to the first issue is well known. Another round of tensions may be sparked by the United States' overly biased attention to Russia's involvement in settling conflicts on the territory of the former USSR, which Moscow would like to see as an exclusive sphere of its national security while making sure that matters have not gone too far to justify an intervention by UN or even NATO forces.

Christopher's visit has indirectly clarified the status of Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador to the United States. Yesterday, speaking in an interview for IZVESTIYA, he denied "newspaper rumors, fabrications, and possible intrigues" with regard to his resignation. The ambassador did not explain, however, why he did not refute them one month ago when they emerged.

According to reports from Foreign Ministry sources, at that time his dismissal was all but sealed. What swayed Boris Yeltsin was apparently Lukin's line of conduct during the rebellion (the ambassador should be credited, among other things, for the U.S. instant positive reaction to Yeltsin's actions). For the time being, it is not Lukin, but his deputy, Andrey Kolosovskiy, who will leave the United States. He will be Russia's representatives at the UN office in Geneva.

'Moscow-St. Petersburg' Program Discussed in Washington

LD2310122493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2210 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington, 23 Oct—"Moscow-St. Petersburg" is the name of the new Russian-American program whose presentation took place on Friday [22 October] in the U.S. capital. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Sergey Shurygin, the head of the program on the Russian side, that the aim of the joint undertaking is the creation of conditions for settling servicemen transferred to the reserve and refugees from the former USSR on the territories of five oblasts located between Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The program, which has been approved by the president, the Government of the Russian Federation, and the leadership of the local organs of government, covers several areas of activity. One of the most important will be the construction of several thousand houses annually. A vigorous agricultural and industrial development of the regions is being proposed as well as the building of a high-speed highway between Russia's major cities.

Paul Lambert, who heads the consortium of American companies that will take part in the program, said that the project will presumably be financed from government and private sources, as well as from funds supplied by international financial organizations. Our main task now is to draw up a comprehensive technical plan for the implementation of the program, which, as we hope, will strengthen interest in the new undertaking both in America and in Russia.

Lambert refused to state the total cost of the project as it is still at an early stage of development. Potentially we are speaking here of billions of dollars, the American businessmen added.

Reports on Waste Dumping in Sea of Japan Continue

'Serious Safety Risk' Viewed

PM2210161793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Annoucer over video of warships in harbor and bay] The decision to suspend the dumping of radioactive materials was adopted approximately 12 hours before the tanker TNT-27 was due to enter the Sea of Japan.

Military experts believe that, in any event, Russia will be forced to resume discharging nuclear waste in the sea sooner or later. The reason is the absence of the requisite number of storage facilities, as a result of which the operation of the nuclear fleet will present a serious safety risk in the very near future. At present there are 130 nuclear-powered submarines and 12 surface ships in the Russian Navy.

Operation Had Ministry Authorization

PM2210103993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Valeriy Yakov report: "No Culprits in the Dumping of Radioactive Waste"]

[Text] Despite the scandal that is developing over the dumping of radioactive liquid substances by a Russian tanker in the Sea of Japan, the Pacific Fleet intended, according to ITAR-TASS information, to complete the operation of dumping a second consignment of waste at sea.

Captain First Rank Valeriy Danelyan, leader of the Pacific Fleet's chemical service, told your ITAR-TASS correspondent that in the fleet they are surprised at such a stormy reaction to this "measure." Especially since all the interested organizations were reportedly notified in advance about the forthcoming operation by the military department.

IZVESTIYA decided to find out how this notification had been treated at the relevant organization with the greatest "interest" in this regard—the Russian Inspectorate for Nuclear and Radiation Safety. Yuriy Vishnevskiy, the state committee's chairman, replied that he and his people had learned about the waste dumping from the press.

For clarity's sake Yuriy Georgiyevich recalled that in 1972 the Soviet Union was one of the founders of the convention on the prevention of the pollution of the sea by the discharge of waste and other materials. In accordance with this document, known as the London Convention, the international agency authorized to regulate the problem of the discharge of radioactive waste is the IAEA. Accordingly the IAEA has elaborated documents which stipulate what may be dumped, in what form, and in which specific locations. The Russian Defense Ministry and Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources are familiar with these documents. But the military department accumulates around 20,000 cubic meters of liquid waste annually. It has been the practice since the sixties that this waste is dumped in the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans without any prior coordination. On this occasion, in Vishnevskiy's words, the Defense Ministry requested permission from the Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources and had no

problem in obtaining it although the IAEA clearly forbids the dumping of liquid waste. What is more, Yuriy Vishnevskiy is sure that the present discharge operation is not the first this year, it is simply that they failed to conceal it from the public. For example, a year ago more than 3,000 tonnes of liquid waste were dumped in the Arctic Ocean and the same amount in the Pacific.

We rang the Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources, where deputy minister Nikolay Rybalskiy stated that a representative of the State Inspectorate for Nuclear and Radiation Safety...had taken part in an interdepartmental conference and not only knew about the forthcoming dumping operation but even gave recommendations. The Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources had not considered the political consequences of this operation since "we are not a political department." As for permission, the license had been signed by the minister, Viktor Danilov-Danilyan.

Bearing in mind the scandal that has erupted over this story, the Russian Government has adopted a decision to not to carry out the second dumping operation. Sergey Agafonov, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Japan, has reported that as a result official Tokyo's anger has given way to understanding.

Navy Reportedly Violated Rules

MK2210133793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Rogozhin of the Press Bureau of the Russian State Committee for Supervision of Safety in the Atomic Industry—Gosatomnadzor—in the "Scandal" column: "The Radioactive Dumping in the Sea of Japan Had No Legal Foundations"]

[Excerpts] The dumping of liquid radioactive waste by the Russian Navy in the Sea of Japan has taken on a scandalous character. In spite of assurances from specialists that the low radioactive level of the dumped liquid (if the Russian Environment Ministry is to be believed, under 3 curies) will in no way make itself felt in the sea waters, every one was concerned by the mere fact of the dumping. First of all, the question arises: Did the Russian Environment Ministry, whose jurisdiction is confined to Russia's territory, have the power to issue permission that such actions in international waters be conducted?

Commenting on the incident, Gosatomnadzor Chairman Yuriy Vishnevskiy noted that the Russian Federation, having proclaimed itself successor to the Soviet Union, automatically became one of the depositors of the Convention on the Prevention of Sea Pollution Through the Dumping of Waste and Other Materials (1972), commonly known as the London dumping convention. [passage omitted]

In spite of the Soviet Union's signing of the London Convention, the dumping of radioactive waste (solid and liquid) in the seas of the Arctic and Pacific Oceans continued. It was carried out under special permission from a body authorized by the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Monitoring, in coordination with the USSR Ministry of Fishing. With the formation of the sovereign Russian Federation and the abolition of the Union executive structures, the functions of the authorized body were taken over by the Russian Federation Ministry for the Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources [Minpriroda]. The Statute on Minpriroda establishes that it organizes and effects, within its jurisdiction, the issue of permits for the burial and dumping of polluting substances, including radioactive ones, in the environment. And although the dumping of radioactive waste at sea is specific and affects the interests not only of Russian departments and citizens but also the interests of the contiguous states, Minpriroda's rights to make decisions on these matters may be recognized with certain qualifications. For that purpose rules are to be worked out and approved in accordance with the established procedures regulating the conduct of work and taking into account the recommendations of the relevant international organization—the International Atomic Energy Commission—and the Russian state regulating body, Gosatomnadzor.

Unfortunately, without completing the requisite preparatory work and without notifying Gosatomnadzor, the Minpriroda leadership gave permission to the Russian Defense Ministry to dump liquid radioactive waste accumulated as a result of the Navy's activity.

In light of this, Gosatomnadzor expresses its concern over these actions and deems it necessary to declare the unacceptability of such methods of handling radioactive waste.

A few more considerations should be added to what the Gosatomnadzor chairman said. First, Russia still lacks a legislative basis in the area of nuclear energy. The draft law "On State Policy in Handling Radioactive Waste" last April was adopted by the Supreme Soviet in its first reading and is now in a state of suspension.

Incidentally this draft law unequivocally bans the dumping of liquid radioactive waste, whether at sea or underground.

P.S.

Tokyo officialdom has welcomed Russia's decision to cancel the dumping of the second batch of liquid radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan planned for this week. Masaiosi Takemura, general secretary of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers, has assessed this decision of Moscow as a positive political move. In this context, he noted, Japan will abandon its intention to prepare a joint protest action by the G-7 against the Russian dumping. According to reports from news agencies, however, the opinion of Japanese experts in this respect is far from unequivocal. Thus, some of them believe that the burial of radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan by the Russian Navy on 16 October poses no threat to the country.

Minister Accuses Japan of Dumping

LD2210114093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1016 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo October 22 TASS—Russia fired back to Japanese protests against its low-active waste dumping in sea and said Japan is doing the same thing.

Japan is dumping in the world ocean low-active liquid waste from its 16 nuclear power plants. Russian Atomic Energy Minister Viktor Mikhaylov told TASS on Friday after arriving in Tokyo to discuss the dumping problem.

According to Russian estimates, Japan annually dumps in the world ocean nuclear waste with a total radioactivity level of some several hundred curie. Mikhaylov said the figure concerns only low-active liquids.

The minister added that the Russian dumping in the Sea of Japan on October 16 has the total radioactivity level of one curie which equals the force of space radiation which affects a square kilometre of the earth's surface in one year. "This inconsiderable amount exerted no impact on the sea fauna and flora, to say nothing of human health", Mikhaylov said.

Another Dump Possible

LD2210214193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1124 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The Pacific Fleet Command has not yet been formally told to cancel Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's instructions to conduct a second dumping of liquid nuclear waste into the Sea of Japan.

In an interview with Interfax on Friday, the fleet's Chemical Service Chief, Valery Danilyan, spoke about problems in utilizing radioactive wastes in the navy. He explained that these problems stemmed from the need for removal of nuclear-powered submarines from the fleet and their subsequent use, including those that are subject to elimination in line with START. According to his figures, 47 nuclear-powered submarines have been withdrawn from the Pacific Fleet as of October 1, 1993. However, nuclear fuel has been taken out of only 20 vessels.

By 2001, the navy is to have listed and utilized another 17 nuclear-powered submarines.

In Danilyan's words, the main obstacle to utilization is the lack of the means to remove nuclear fuel from reactors, keep it in a special tank on shore, and send it to industry to be processed.

Among the top priority measures, he called for the construction of a dock and auxiliary facilities for special vessels with used fuel (the tentative cost is 68 Mn rubles in 1990 prices), and for wasted fuel containerization in keeping with IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] regulations (25 Mn rubles in the 1990 prices).

Another acute problem is the supply of equipment for floating docks to unload nuclear cores from reactors and fuel tankers. The available floating docks are outdated since they have been in use for over 30 years now.

Danilyan also stressed the need for designing a naval complex for processing radioactive liquid. He made it clear that it would take up to 124 Mn rubles in 1990 prices for top-priority measures necessary for the utilization of nuclear-powered submarines.

On the problem of pollutant utilization, he recalled that the discharge of 900 tons of low-toxic wastes was a forced measure, which would make it possible to continue work on the utilization of nuclear-powered submarines and guarantee the fleet's strength over several months. Danilyan said that the level of pollution in the area of dumping had remained unchanged. The concentration of cesium-137 two hours after the dumping was 1000 times lower than the admissible norm of cesium in fresh water.

At the same time, he stressed the need for dumping radioactive waste from the tanker TNT-5, which threatens the marine life in the Bolshoy Kamen Harbor and the Ussuriy Bay. As of now, 730 tons of fuel have been poured from it into the TNT-27 tanker, which is ready for a second sail to discharge nuclear pollutants. About 500 tons of radioactive waste is left on board the TNT-5. However, the Pacific Fleet Command is in a state of uncertainty in regard to the TNT-27 tanker's second mission.

The dumping of radioactive liquid into the Sea of Japan off the port of Nakhodka on October 16 has stirred public anxiety over the problems of nuclear safety in the Maritime Region. This is stated in a message sent to President Boris Yeltsin by the regional administration chief Evgeniy Nazdratenko. The cable notes that despite decision No. 824, adopted on August 14, 1993, the utilization of radioactive waste still poses a great problem. For this reason, the regional authorities recommend that the Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission on Environmental Safety should urgently map out measures to utilize pollutants and eliminate the radioactive contamination of the region.

Spokesman on Halting Dumping

LD2310081593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's decision on Thursday to halt a second dumping of nuclear waste into the Sea of Japan was a hard one, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Grigory Karasin told reporters in Moscow on Friday.

He admitted Russia continued to face the problem of nuclear waste disposal but it will now cooperate with other countries including Japan and South Korea to try to resolve it.

Karasin described Moscow's change of heart as a glaring example of new Russia's respect for international opinion, something that would have been impossible just a few years ago.

He spoke of agreement reached with Japan to speed up consultations on a joint expedition to examine the state and burial sites of nuclear waste in seas of the Far Eastern region. Karasin said experts on both sides would meet in Moscow and Vladivostok on October 27-28 and October 29-30 respectively.

The Russian-Japanese commission is due to meet for two days of talks on November 10th to discuss the whole range of issues relating to nuclear waste disposal.

Dumping 'Will Not Hamper' Ties

LD2510092093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0758 GMT 25 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo October 25 TASS—The recent dumping of liquid radioactive waste by Russia in the Sea of Japan will not hamper the development of relations between the Russian Federation and Japan, which, nonetheless, must take up the problem of utilising Russian low-toxic materials on the basis of collaboration between the two countries, the Japanese Foreign Ministry's European and Oceanic Department Chief Issei Nomura said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today.

Issei Nomura, who is in charge of relations with the Commonwealth member-countries, expressed regret at the fact that the dumping of radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan took place directly after Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan which "was of great significance to both countries as it laid down the foundation for the further development of relations between Japan and renovated Russia".

"The dumping of toxic materials exercised a negative influence on the Russo-Japanese relations, but this problem will not be able to reduce to nil the results of the Russian-Japanese summit level negotiations, if the countries pool their efforts in solving the problem of utilising Russian radioactive waste", Issei Nomura said.

Nomura confirmed Tokyo' intention to assist Russia in handling this problem but declined to specify what specific form Japan's assistance can take. According to Nomura, this question must be discussed in detail at the meetings of experts from the two countries scheduled for October 27-28 in Moscow and October 29-30 in Vladivostok. The problem will be also discussed by the joint Russian-Japanese working group in charge of drafting the peace treaty.

The Japanese official stressed that the Japanese assistance in the utilisation of radioactive waste "cannot be extended to the military sphere, and in this connection it is necessary to discuss with the Russian side what measures can be taken to protect the environment of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk".

Issei Nomura noted that Tokyo would welcome a visit by Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tsutomu Hata to Moscow before next spring. "But no consultations about this have yet been held with Russia and the possibility of the visit will be determined by the outcome of the November meeting of the joint working group," he said.

Nomura pointed out that "a meeting of the heads of the ministries of foreign relations of the two countries, which must precede the scheduled visit of Japan's Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa to Russia next year, will be pointless if the negotiations between the ministers fail to produce specific results."

Mikhaylov in Tokyo To Discuss Sale of Uranium

LD2210183293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1148 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Bantin and Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo October 22 TASS—Russian Minister of Nuclear Power Engineering Viktor Mikhaylov arrived in Tokyo on Friday [22 October] to discuss concrete aspects of Russo-Japanese cooperation in the field, including possible sales of Russian uranium and uranium products.

It may be a matter of selling the enriched uranium made redundant by dismantling the Russian nuclear weapons, he said in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

According to Mikhaylov, his visit was planned earlier and was not caused by the "storm of passions" which surrounded Russia's dumping of radioactive wastes.

The issue of utilization of waste products is "excessively politicised", he said.

On the other hand, according to Terusuke Terada, spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, "the Japanese party will undoubtedly raise the issue of dumping of the wastes at the talks with the Russian minister."

More on Visit

LD2310134693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] During talks that have taken place between Viktor Mikhaylov, Russian minister for atomic energy, and Satsuki Eda, the head of Japan's Science and Technology Ministry, the head of the Russian ministry put forward a proposal for Japan to buy from Russia enriched uranium obtained from the dismantling of Russian nuclear missiles. In Mikhaylov's opinion, the purchase of $100 million-worth of uranium would help solve the financial side of the problem of utilizing nuclear waste in Russia.

Details of Proposal

LD2310165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1604 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo October 23 TASS—Russian Minister of Nuclear Power Industry Viktor Mikhaylov suggested that Japan buy Russian enriched uranium received in the dismantling of nuclear missile facilities at today's negotiations with head of the Japanese scientific-technical department Satsuki Eda.

The sides discussed a number of problems, including the recent dumping of liquid radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan by the Russian Pacific Navy, the Japanese ASAHI newspaper reports.

The minister told the negotiations that storage and utilization of nuclear waste on Russian territory are hampered by financial difficulties.

In the opinion of the newspaper, the minister's statement saying the possible Japanese purchase of enriched uranium would be beneficial for both the Japanese and the Russian sides could be viewed as a prove to Moscow's intention to deliver enriched uranium to Japan. The uranium is expected to be received from utilization of nuclear warheads on Russian territory.

In the opinion of Mikhaylov, a 100 million U.S. dollars worth of uranium purchase could help settle financial difficulties of utilization of nuclear waste in Russia.

Number of Intelligence Officers in Japan Down

OW2210202793 Tokyo KYODO in English 0936 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] Washington, Oct. 21 KYODO—Russia has slashed its spy presence in Japan by 75 percent, with just 10 intelligence officers operating in the country's diplomatic missions, a former agent said Thursday [21 October].

The former Soviet Union normally ran 40 agents across Japan after World War II, said Yuriy Totrov, who held the rank of colonel in the KGB.

Totrov told KYODO NEWS SERVICE that Soviet consular operations usually ran to about 80 staff members of which 40 were spies.

In addition, he said Moscow has withdrawn all intelligence officers from consulates general in Sapporo, northern Japan, and Osaka, western Japan. Traditionally, each office had two.

Totrov said he was the last intelligence officer from the Soviet era to be stationed in Japan. He said he worked in Osaka with the title of consul from 1991 to 1992. The Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991.

Totrov said he quit Russian intelligence in 1992. As secretary of the Soviet embassy in Tokyo he served two previous tours as a spy in Japan from 1967 to 1971 and 1975 to 1980. He joined the Foreign Ministry in 1958.

He said Russia has shut down about 30 intelligence operations that it inherited from the KGB. Totrov said the government of President Boris Yeltsin will continue to scale down the network.

Totrov said the United States still tries to woo former KGB agents.

He said the Federal Bureau of Investigation stays in contact with Russian Embassy staff in Washington, hoping some will defect.

Totrov said he was approached by the Central Intelligence Agency during his stay in Osaka.

Totrov has worked at a Russian aircraft lease company since he retired from the government in 1992. He is in the United States for a meeting of former and incumbent Russian and U.S. intelligence staff members.

Moscow, Washington's Response to PRC Nuclear Test

LD2310204893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Both Washington and Moscow face a serious trial these days. The situation on the world political scene will to a great extent depend on the decisions that are taken at the White House and in the Kremlin. This is all connected with the underground nuclear explosion set off at the Lop Nor testing site in China. The explosion has upset the nuclear test moratorium which all the world's nuclear powers have been adhering to for many months already. I will not go into the reasons that made China go against world public opinion, Valentin Zorin continues. That is a topic by itself. What I would like to discuss today is how Moscow and Washington could react to this action by Beijing.

As far as Moscow is concerned, it has expressed regret over the nuclear explosion set off in China and stated officially that it will continue to observe the moratorium on nuclear tests. Washington's stand, however, is different. The NEW YORK TIMES says that in response to China's underground explosion, the Clinton administration gave orders to prepare for resuming U.S. tests. Of course, preparing for tests is not the same as conducting them, but, still, such a reaction cannot but cause alarm.

By no means do I wish to justify Beijing's action, but nevertheless I would like to call the attention of the listeners to the following very indicative figures. The latest test at the Lop Nor site was China's 38th one, while the United States has conducted already 942. Reliable intelligence information says that China has between 250 and 300 nuclear warheads for 60 medium-range rockets and

eight long-range ones. If you compare that with the United States arsenal which as of April this year consisted of 9,000 nuclear warheads, you can easily see that the desire for parity can by no means justify the position of those who insist on an immediate response to China's nuclear test, and everything I have just said now applies to an equal extent to Russia, because the gap between China's and Russia's nuclear arsenals is just as big.

Of course, there is not and cannot be any justification of the hasty action taken in response to China's nuclear explosion. On the contrary, the violation of the moratorium by Moscow and Washington would only further aggravate the situation. It would signify not only the resumption of the arms race, which nothing can justify, but would also pose a threat to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the term of which expires in 1995. The resumption of tests at U.S. and Russian sites will give a free hand to at least a dozen countries which are now on the threshold of the nuclear club. The collapse of the Nonproliferation Treaty will confront the world with unpredictable and perhaps apocalyptic aftermath, and that is what the Russian and U.S. political leaders who are under the pressure from the military-industrial complex have to think about. To prevent a new chain reaction in the nuclear arms race would mean passing a political maturity test and displaying responsibility before the people of the world.

Chernobyl Operation 'Impermissible' Without Modernization

LD2210154693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1436 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Oct—Although Ukraine has made the decision to continue the work of Chernobyl nuclear power station, it is impermissible to continue to operate it without modernization, the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy considers. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told in the public relations directorate of the Atomic Energy Ministry that Russian specialists are prepared to give help in this on a contract basis if they receive such a request from their Ukrainian colleagues.

Power units of the high power tube reactor type operate at Chernobyl, a type which is also used in Russia, at the Leningrad, Kursk, and Smolensk nuclear power stations. All of these have been undergoing a special modernization program since the Chernobyl accident. Therefore, the Russian specialists have a certain amount of experience which could be used at Chernobyl too.

Aid Offered to Power Station

LD2310073393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—Although Ukraine has adopted a decision to continue the operation of the Chernobyl nuclear power station, its further exploitation is impossible without modernization, said experts of the Russian Ministry for Atomic Energy.

Russian experts are prepared to render comprehensive assistance in the modernization on a contractual basis if such a request is made by the Ukrainian side, ITAR-TASS learned from the public relations department of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy.

The Chernobyl power station uses nuclear reactors of the RBMK type, similar to those operating at Leningrad, Kursk and Smolensk nuclear power stations. After the Chernobyl accident all these reactors are undergoing special modernization. The experience accumulated by Russian nuclear experts can be successfully used for the modernization of the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

Ukraine's Position on Nukes Causes 'Regret'

LD2510091393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0530 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Text] The U.S. secretary of state arrives today on an official visit to Kiev. One of the main subjects of his talks will be devoted to Ukraine's position on strategic nuclear armaments. A week ago President Kravchuk, despite obligations undertaken earlier, stated that Ukraine could keep some of the former USSR's nuclear inheritance bequeathed to it. A high-ranking representative of the U.S. Administration said the meaning of Kravchuk's statement was unclear, but is it so unclear? I ask this question of observer Vladimir Pachko.

[Pachko] The Ukrainian Government essentially stated its intention to keep 46 Soyuz-24 missiles. These are the most modern weapons in the arsenal of the former USSR. Each of these missiles is capable of carrying 10 nuclear warheads.

Different sorts of question arise. What is behind this? Either the line of turning the country into a nuclear state has gained the upper hand in the Ukrainian Parliament, or plain blackmail is being practiced: an attempt to extort from the Americans another lot of dollars and a promise to exert pressure on Russia for the purpose of resolving the existing disputes in their favor.

I remind you that the Ukrainian leadership is insisting on the recognition of its right to join in the Russo-American talks on nuclear weapons. That is essentially a political demand. It would enable the Ukraine to consider itself a member of the nuclear club, and to receive compensation from Russia or the United States for the fuel contained in the missiles. That is now an economic demand. To this of late has been added also the demand for national security.

What is meant was explained popularly last week by Ukrainian Parliament Speaker Plyushch to U.S. Ambassador in Kiev Muller. In conditions when Russia's

supreme legislative body has taken a decision directly aimed at violating the Ukraine's territorial integrity—the status of Sevastopol is referred to—he said, the Ukrainian Parliament has the right to raise such a question.

So the Russian Supreme Soviet is no more but its position is being vigorously utilized in Kiev.

We will not try to sort out these claims. I will dwell on something else: on the threshold of Christopher's trip a representative of the U.S. State Department stressed that Russia should become the only state to keep the nuclear armaments of the former USSR. The three other states on whose territory Soviet nuclear weapons were inherited—Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine—also agreed to this principle, he recalled.

Minsk has fulfilled the commitment it undertook in this connection. Almaty ratified the agreement on strategic offensive weapons but still has to join the agreement on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Kiev however, despite its promise, has done neither the one thing nor the other.

The U.S. Administration does not conceal its concern about the Ukraine's position. On the threshold of Christopher's coming to Kiev several American representatives of high rank visited. One of the leaders of the State Department stated that Washington was trying, without making any special noise, to convince Kiev to give up its claims.

Clinton's administration realizes that the political debates and the economic crisis in the Ukraine are strengthening the position of the opponents of elimination of the nuclear arsenal but it continues to insist, in the interests of the Ukraine itself, that it keep its word to become a nuclear-free state since this would ensure it freer access to Western financial aid.

This line is underpinned by very sharp publications in the press. The journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT recently called it the limit of impudence when a country which has recently become independent, is desperately in need of financial aid, with a collapsing army, navy and air force, behaves as if it intends to become the world's third nuclear power.

The position of Kiev naturally causes regret. It looks particularly unpromising against the background of the calm behavior of Belarus in the face of the problems arising. It has got rid of the former USSR's nuclear inheritance and without too much noise it received everything it wanted both from Russia and from the United States. Nazarbayev is resolving his problems in the same spirit.

Kiev has chosen a different way of behaving and it looks like the most unproductive one. It may have an explanation but not a justification.

Foreign Ministry on Status of Nationals in Burundi

LD2310073693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] There is hope in the fact that Russia is not Burundi, where it is known that a coup d'etat has taken place, the outcome of which is that the supporters of the military dictatorship set up a Council for Public Salvation and destroyed the president.

On Friday [22 October], Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Department of Information and the Press of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said in particular:

[Begin Karasin recording] The so called National Council for Public Salvation has taken power. A curfew has been established. The borders and the airport have been closed. Immediate administrative power has been handed over to representatives of the Army. If one is to assess the events of the last few days objectively, they are severely damaging the process of democratization that had started in Burundi and are fraught with the threat of a new flashpoint of tension emerging in the region.

I would like to stress that at the present time the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia and our embassy in Burundi are taking all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of Russian citizens working in Burundi. At the present time there are 14 members of the staff of the embassy and the members of their families there, as well as doctors, teachers, trainers, international officials, and other specialists. All in all, including the diplomats and also the crew of the cargo aircraft that arrived literally on the eve of the coup, there are 66 Russians in Burundi. [end recording]

Political Issues

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Authority in Federation Components

LD2210184993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—Today, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an edict "On the Fundamental Principles for the Organization of State Authority in Components [Subyekty] of the Russian Federation."

In the interests of strengthening the foundations of democracy and ensuring the gradual constitutional reform of bodies of state authority in Russian Federation components, the edict approves the provision on the basic principles for the organization and activity of bodies of state authority in krays, oblasts, towns of federal importance, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs of the Russian Federation during the period of gradual constitutional reform.

The edict establishes that elections will be held to representative (legislative) bodies of state authority in krays, oblasts, towns of federal importance, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs of the Russian Federation in the period of December 1993 to March 1994.

In accordance with the published provision on the fundamental principles for the organization and activity of bodies of state authority in components of the Russian Federation, the representative (legislative) body of state authority in the kray, oblast, town of federal importance, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug (the assembly, duma, etc) is elected by the population on the basis of a universal, direct, equal electoral right by a secret vote, and it carries out its activity on a permanent basis.

The representative (legislative) body of state authority in the kray, oblast, town of federal importance, autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug is elected for a term of two years. Legal (legislative) acts concerning issues of joint authority adopted by a kray, oblast, or town may not contravene federal laws, presidential decrees or government decisions.

The body of executive authority in the kray, oblast, town of federal importance, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug is the administration (government) of the kray, oblast, town of federal importance, autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug, the edict says.

Further on Decree

LD2310082293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1734 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—A decree "On Fundamentals of the Organization of State Power in Russian Federation Subjects" was signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin here today.

Aiming at the consolidation of fundamentals of the people's power and provision of constitutional reform of state power bodies in Russian Federation subjects, the decree resolutes to:

—approve provisions on fundamentals of the organization and activities of local bodies of state authority in a period of gradual constitutional reform;

—hold the elections of representative (legislative) state power bodies in territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region and autonomous districts of the Russian Federation from December 1993 through March 1994;

—recommend republics within the Russian Federation to carry out the reform of state power bodies with due account of this decree.

The decree shall come into force from the moment of its signing and be submitted to the new Russian parliament for endorsement.

The provisions on fundamentals of the organization and activities of local state power bodies specified that the new local parliaments would be elected for two years and have no more than 50 deputies.

Future regional parliaments will have the right to pass laws but a local governor is to sign them to put the laws into effect.

The laws passed by the new local legislature shall not contradict the federal laws, president's decrees or government resolutions, the provisions said.

Yeltsin Approves Law on Legislative Proposals Group

LD2310120293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] On Friday, Boris Yeltsin approved a statute on the Russian president's legislative proposals commission. It was formed at the end of September this year. The commission is entrusted with the drafting of normative acts proposed by the president for submission to the Federal Assembly for its consideration. The main tasks of the commission are to draw up normative acts on ensuring the work of the Federal Assembly and to finalize work on the draft normative acts adopted at their first reading by the former Russian Supreme Soviet and also being considered by the committees and standing commissions of the chambers of the former parliament.

Ratifies Provisions on Commission

LD2510122993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0950 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, 25 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—On 22 October, Boris Yeltsin issued a directive [rasporyazheniye] ratifying the provisions on the president's Legislative Proposals Commission, an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned in the presidential press service today.

In accordance with those provisions, the commission's main tasks are to draw up legislation on issues enabling the activities of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, revising those draft laws that were adopted at a first reading by the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and also those which were under consideration by the committees and standing commissions of the chambers of the former parliament.

The commission may be composed of Russian Federation people's deputies of the 1990-95 convocation, representatives of bodies of state power of the components of the Russian Federation, representatives of political parties and public movements, and also commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

Yeltsin Signs Documents on 'Bodies of Power'

LD2410210093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed two documents: the instruction on the main principles of the organization of local bodies of power, and the instruction on the procedure of elections to Moscow state Duma [as heard]. Judging by these documents, Moscow City Duma will have 35 members: the norm of representation is one person per 200,000 electors. The City Duma will have the authority to adopt the city budget and to define the social and economic development of the capital.

Yeltsin Urged To Delay Land Reform Edict

LD2210221793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Head of the Russian administration's center for social and economic policies Petr Filippov asked Yeltsin to suspend the signing of a land reform decree because of containing "serious concessions" to the managerial lobby of state and collective farms. Filippov says the Agriculture Ministry which is behind the draft paper has only a handful of reformists.

The official said his center and the administration's department for territorial management would arrange meetings in Russia's nine economic regions between November 12 and 29 involving would be candidates to the Federal Assembly and government officials. On the government side, officials of the economics, finance and foreign ministries will be involved as well as members of the state property, anti-monopoly and industry committees.

On the election campaign, Filippov said most of the alliances including Russia's Choice were nominating incompetent party functionaries. To offset the negative trend, a new group was set up three day ago calling itself the Association of Independent Experts, he said. It is designed to back up reform-minded candidates of integrity, mainly economists and lawyers. Filippov said the AIE had branches in 45 regions and 76 candidates on its electoral list.

The official said there was a lack of highly qualified experts in macroeconomics putting their number at 17.

Land Decree Anticipated

LD2310084893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] President Yeltsin is due to issue a decree to allow land transactions in the Russian Federation, presidential and government sources told Interfax [IF].

Many say the Russian leader will unveil plans on land reform and a range of major economic and political measures as he attends festivities in the northern city of Yaroslavl on Saturday.

There is no alternative to the new land reform outlined in the president's decree, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha who is also in charge of the farming sector told Interfax.

At the same time, he does not rule out that the paper's main clause on the purchase and sale of land will arouse "disapproval from many farmers" who are worried at the prospect of large-scale profiteering arising from land transactions.

Zaveryukha said that to avert this, a condition has been set under which any use of farmland for a purpose other than farming must be approved by the regional authorities.

IF Note: The decree annuls this July's parliamentary statute imposing a 10-year or 5-year moratorium on the sale of farmland, no matter how it was acquired. Russia's arable land runs at 1706.6 Mn ha., with farmland and private allotments accounting for 620.3 Mn ha. Farmland proper is put at 222.3 Mn ha.

In the meantime, the agricultural lobby representing the interests of most of the countryside and whose election alliance includes the Agrarian Party, the Agrarian Union, the Farmers' Trade Unions and other groups, hope to be able to win up to 35 percent of the vote to the Federal Assembly. If so, the agrarian faction is most unlikely to reconsider its opposition to land transactions and will put up stout resistance to Yeltsin's land reform.

Many say the agrarian lobby's optimistic calculations for swaying more than 30 Mn votes are taken seriously by the leaders of other election alliances including the pro-government Russia's Choice (RC). One RC candidate and First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar insists that the Russian president step in and sign the land reform decree because "the new parliament could

delay the solution to this crucial issue." He also said the paper was ready for signing.

Burbulis Says Yeltsin's Measures 'Inevitable'

BR2210151193 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 21 Oct 93 p 12

[Interview with Russian presidential aide Gennadiy Burbulis by Luigi Offeddu in Moscow; date not given: "Not a Dictatorship at All—Yeltsin Has No Choice"]

[Text] Among Boris Yeltsin's advisers, he is the one who has always been the closest to him. He is certainly the one most hated by the opposition. He is the man said to have devised the Belovezhskaya agreement that dissolved the Soviet Union. He was also the one who, according to the Russian newspapers, led the military resistance—from the Kremlin—against the communist nationalists on 3 October. Today, Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis is still considered the Yeltsinists' foremost ideologist. He, therefore, is qualified to answer a few questions about his country's present and future situation.

[Offeddu] Gennadiy Eduardovich, in the past few weeks in Russia we have seen censorship, the dissolution of the soviets, and a ban on certain opposition parties. In the West, people are already talking about a Yeltsin dictatorship. Do you not think there is a danger of this?

[Burbulis] Look, I would ask one thing of those people who really want to understand today's Russia: that they please overcome the disease of so-called abstract humanism. If you, esteemed Western democracies, think it is better to have no power in Russia and you call that freedom, then I would ask that you also take on the job of running our country. If you feel it is better to have an accumulation of nationalist-fascist venom in Russia, then call that freedom, too. But if you do not like all that, then there is something important that we all have to remember.

[Offeddu] What?

[Burbulis] In the transition from an authoritarian and repressive society to a potentially free and democratic society, we need a responsible power. Today, Yeltsin could perhaps be blamed for his failure to use power but certainly not for any "abuse" of power. It is no longer a matter of authoritarianism but of the responsibilities that the president has assumed to ensure the stability of the country. At the same time, we must not forget that all kinds of evil were flourishing unfettered throughout Russia. This evil not only violates the law but also our society's moral traditions.

[Offeddu] Will the December elections really be free?

[Burbulis] We are not in a fantasy world such as you might find in a book. We are in a real situation: Russia in 1993. The December elections will be absolutely legitimate, since the current legal system is part of a totalitarianism system which is on the way out. The new system is coming into being amid difficulties and compromises which, in my view, are unacceptable.

[Offeddu] What do you mean?

[Burbulis] I think we should reflect on the heritage handed down to us Russians, from the point of view of legal relations. We must carefully diagnose the disease that has caused us suffering since the advent of the Soviet regime—a regime where there were no rights, only the arbitration of rights by the authorities and the annihilation of human rights. So, in view of this past, we can see that Yeltsin's decisions were necessary—indeed inevitable—in today's situation. They are decisions which, in the special circumstances prevailing, will ensure that the program of stabilization and emergence from the crisis goes forward.

[Offeddu] But what kind of democracy can you build if the entire government has a seat in the new parliament and the entire government is chosen by the president?

[Burbulis] Once again, you are reasoning like a book; I should say, a book written by someone who has never worked in a transition period. I feel that the decision to have the current ministers stand as candidates in the December elections is completely justified. We do not need the separation of powers that was once the norm in Russia, when it was forbidden to combine the post of member of parliament with a job as minister. We need an executive power whose actions are monitored and a legislative power capable of staying within the proper bounds.

[Offeddu] Is that a dream?

[Burbulis] It is something that can be achieved only with a professional parliament and an efficient government. I repeat: There is absolutely nothing wrong in the decision to let the ministers stand as candidates, too. The parliamentary majority will form a cabinet of its choice, which may include those members of parliament who are professionals in the most useful areas.

[Offeddu] The other day Defense Minister Grachev said that there is no need to bring the presidential elections forward to 12 June 1994; we should await the official end of the term in 1996. Do you agree?

[Burbulis] I think the president is right. Yeltsin was right to set the presidential elections for 12 June. However, with the elections for the Federal Assembly, i.e., the new parliament, this will no longer be a personal problem concerning Yeltsin, his honor, or his merit as president. It will be more a question to be resolved by the Federal Assembly. In January, the assembly will have to assess the situation and then make a decision, in the interest of the majority of the population and of our reforms.

[Offeddu] Last Sunday, the leading candidates for "Russia's Choice," the Yeltsin bloc, were chosen. Everyone

thinks that the bloc will win in December. But you were not on the list. Are you still thinking of running in the elections?

[Burbulis] Last Sunday's vote in the assembly does not limit me in any way. It runs counter to my convictions and runs counter to my political goals. I initially thought of standing as a candidate, but now it is even more necessary.

[Offeddu] Very briefly, what is your political platform?

[Burbulis] I want to found the party of constructive liberalism in Russia, and I want to do so right away, because we should not waste a single day after everything we have been through.

Filatov: Constitution Beginning To Take Fundamental Shape

LD2210223293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1525 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The head of the Russian Government "is to be appointed by the president on agreement with the state duma", this provision was proposed by the working team of the Constitutional Assembly, which is now finalising the text of the Russian basic law. Commenting on the suggested amendments, Head of the Presidential Administration Sergey Filatov, who chaired today's meeting, told journalists that "many disputable and unclear parts of the draft were being rectified and the constitution is beginning to take the shape of a fundamental document, regulating the basic principles of the Russian state system and the life of the federation's citizens".

"For instance," Filatov noted, "articles dealing with relationships among the different branches of government have been amended. The way to dissolve the state duma was substantially simplified on the working team's motion.

"This was a dragged out dispute," Filatov stated, adding that today a decision was reached "on the basis of the latest events in Moscow".

Replying to an ITAR-TASS question about the equality of subjects of the Federation, Filatov said that the Article 5 of the draft "clearly stipulates that all the subjects of the Russian Federation are equal in their relations with the federal bodies". The draft says that the republics shall have their own constitutions and legislations, while the territories, regions, autonomous regions and districts shall have their statutes and legislations. Filatov said that it was moved to delete the "confusing formula on sovereignty".

In his opinion, the constitution should reflect the concepts of "state power at federal level, state power at the level of subjects of the federation, and of relationships among them". The latter shall be established in keeping with the Russian constitution and with the agreements concluded among the subjects and the federal bodies on the delimitation of powers.

Filatov said that the working team included top-class jurists from all the republics and from many territories and regions of the country. Already the first week of its work has shown that "it is possible to reach an understanding and to resolve all the problems before November 3, the deadline fixed by the president, after which the draft is to be submitted for his approval".

Filatov stressed that not many articles were being amended at present, not counting the amendments proposed by regional councils, "the purpose of which is perfectly obvious".

Supreme Soviet Faction Leaders, Others Charged

LD2310031493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The office of the Russian procurator general continues its investigation of the criminal cases connected with the October events in Moscow. Sixteen individuals—including Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Makashov, Anpilov, Barannikov, and Dunayev—have already been charged with organizing mass disturbances, which involved pogroms and destruction of buildings. Seven more people from among the active participants in the riots have been arrested, and charges will be brought against them soon.

TV Shows Work To Clear White House of Explosives

LD2410233493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Oct 93

[By unidentified correspondent, including recording of remarks by N. Yelovik, head of engineering troops in Moscow district, and V. Kiselev, "investigator for particularly important cases"—from the "Voskresenye" magazine program]

[Text] [Correspondent] For about two weeks sappers have been rendering harmless mines, grenades, and unexploded projectiles in the White House. More than 2,500 explosive devices have been eliminated, and this is the crop of just one short expedition. [video shows sappers inspecting small arms and ammunition outside White House] What can you say about the specific nature of clearing the White House of mines?

[Yelovik] While one of the groups was working, they took three men who were sitting down there in the basement. They were armed, of course, and what kind of thoughts were going through their heads? A sapper cannot be distracted, he has to do his job searching for explosive devices.

[Correspondent] According to Major Silayev, commander of a mine clearing group, even in Afghanistan he had not come across so many mine traps, especially using the F-1 anti-personnel grenade, the shrapnel of which can kill up to 200 meters. There were also other special features of the mine clearing operation. Just recently the sappers have had a particularly tough time of it. Practically without any diagrams—they could not be found for some reason—and in complete darkness, they went down into the underground of the White House for many long hours, and kilometer by kilometer searched the maze of passages and communication channels. [Video shows armed troops in underground passages, climbing in manholes, inspecting pipes]

Far below the surface, human traces could be found not only in the form of abandoned or concealed weapons and gas-masks. It is here that they waited for the outcome of the events. They ate and slept here. By all accounts, they had quite active contacts with the outside world, since there are plenty of exits from the underground area. This one, for example, is in the region of Barrikadnaya subway station, an ordinary sewer manhole. And this is the exit to the stadium, on Krasnaya Presnya. So as not to frighten the sportsmen with our menacing appearance, we did not stay here long. [Video shows gas-mask, cigarette packet and ashtray, a manhole leading out to the open, doorway leading out to stadium]

The underground gallery leading out to the subway under the White House, at a depth of 50 meters, also surprised us, not by its dust and neglect, but by its carefully washed, still wet concrete floor. [Video shows stairway leading down to tunnel]

[Kiselev] From these underground areas, when they wanted, by going from one sewage manifold to another, it was possible to get, well, not exactly to the other end of Moscow, but in any case beyond all the cordons which stood around the White House, and beyond all the units storming the building, and thus get out behind them.

[Correspondent] Well, guided by orders from on high, the army has done its work. It has routed the internal enemies, cleared the aftermath of the fratricidal clash of mines, and cleaned the mess from the corridors of power—it would be nice to think, for the last time. [Video shows troops outside White House]

Karaganov Sees Next Parliament as Transitional

PM2210123393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Oct 93 p 1

[Article by Presidential Council member Sergey Karaganov: "Future Parliament Will Be Transitional"]

[Text] We have been without soviets for a month now, and this experience contains not just positive aspects but alarming ones, too. The positive side is that the trend toward the disintegration of Russia has been checked and there appear to be signs of a vertical axis of executive power emerging.

As far as the negative aspect is concerned, the executive branch is beginning to do things deserving of censure: namely, the restriction or potential restriction of democracy. This is as yet only to be seen in tendencies, but, if this tendency takes hold, then, given the absence of an effective parliament and the state of present-day society, we could slide into crude but weak authoritarian rule—crude from the standpoint of methods, weak from the standpoint of expertise and leadership. Therefore, there has to be a parliament and it has to be effective. Any strong authoritarian power must, first, be based on a broad coalition of political forces, which the present authorities have not yet achieved, and, second, it must be sustained by parliament. An enlightened monarchy is wonderful, but only when there is a parliament.

I think that there are few serious people capable of predicting the future in today's completely unclear and mobile situation. However, there are some things which can be seen right now. It is highly likely that the future parliament will prove to be transitional. That's neither good nor bad—that's life. Transitional because the forces entering it and taking seats will consider that they have been hard done by. New tussles will break out over the redistribution of power, but there will be no strong opposition in parliament, and the main party—the strong centrist party—could start to split up.

We will be able to create a strong parliament only when the leading party or coalition in it adopts center right positions. But for the time being we will have a parliament in which the leading party adopts a right-wing stance. The remaining parties will contest its legitimacy. And in such a situation parliament could become unstable. However, better such a parliament than none at all.

Documents on Former Parliament Activity To Be Preserved

LD2310174193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1418 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—An instruction "on preservation of historical documents related to the activities of the former Supreme Soviet, as well as some mass media bodies and public organizations" was signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Friday [22 October].

The document instructs the Russian procurator general's office, the Ministries of Security and Interior to take all measures to preserve archive documents of the former Supreme Soviet, as well as mass media bodies and public organizations whose activities have been suspended, the presidential press service reports.

The bodies investigating into the October armed revolt are instructed to involve staffers of the Russian State Archive Service in the work with them archive documents and pass the documents over to the Russian State archives as the investigation arrangements are over.

An operative group has been formed to organize the analysis, account and classification of the archive documents. Its membership has been specified.

No Plans To Dismiss Soviets Opposing Yeltsin Edict

LD2310185193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian president's administration is not drafting any documents on the dismissal of the soviets which opposed Boris Yeltsin's decree No. 1400 of September 21, Head of the Department for the Territories and Bodies of State Authority, Nikolay Medvedev, told Interfax. He noted, however, that the system of soviets was in need of cardinal reorganization.

"I was active in the soviets for more than 13 years and I understand that this system no longer works," he said. The soviets, which are still considered to be the basic element of state authority according to the current constitution, cannot co-exist with the presidency institution, he said. He is convinced that Boris Yeltsin must stay in office until the expiration of his term, i.e. until the year 1986. He said he expressed such an opinion as an independent analyst, not as a staffer of the president's administration.

Making his point clear, he said that early presidential elections might ruin the integral system of executive authority. "A year ago, the president appointed the heads of the administrations, who, in their turn, appointed lower-level leaders. The whole system has been in operation for just a year, so its disintegration may hamper the work of Russia's executive bodies," said Medvedev.

Early presidential elections and the ruin of the executive system will affect the interests of a team of about a million people, said Medvedev.

Moscow Division of Russian Unity, Concord Party Meets

LD2310194793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1721 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The first meeting of the Moscow organization of the Russian Unity and Concord Party founded at an all-Russian party congress in Novgorod on October 17 was held here today to adopt constituent documents and approve the party rules adopted at the Novgorod congress.

Head of the Main Legal Department under the Russian President Aleksandr Kotenkov told the meeting the party aims at "training of officials for the state staff and representative power bodies".

The meeting approved the party rules and the political platform adopted by the Novgorod congress. It also elected the Political Council of the party's Moscow organization that was instructed to organize preparations for the December elections of representative power bodies, form and approve candidate lists.

Zaveryukha Walkout Seen as Electioneering Maneuver

PM2210161093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Goncharov article: "Vice Premier Walks Out of Council of Ministers Session. Why?"]

[Text] What do you think is the art of sector leadership, in the view of certain ministers? According to the old, firmly rooted party-soviet, administrative-edict habit, it is the art of extracting resources from a slim budget, for instance for the agrarian sector. It is a very convenient position: You can always justify any "hitch" in the sector: They are not giving us the money, you say, or else not enough.

This leadership style can be seen in the actions of Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha. This conduct is, in principle, typical of "sector men," and there is nothing surprising about that. But the vice premier's recent utterances provide clear evidence of the desire to endow with political significance his own differences of opinion with other Cabinet members regarding the development of the agrarian sector and its relations with the city and with industry.

And these utterances are notable for their contradictoriness. First Aleksandr Zaveryukha reports a record harvest, then he suddenly declares that we are all but on the brink of starvation. "The attitude toward Russia's agrarian sector is a repetition, in the present day, of the 1918 food requisitioning, with the difference that at that time grain was exacted from the peasant 'with the help of a revolver,' whereas now it is 'with endless promises to pay for it in future.'" The vice premier spoke out in the same vein at the recent session of the Council of Ministers Presidium, accusing his colleagues Boris Fedorov, Anatoliy Chubays, and Viktor Gerashchenko of opposing the course of reviving the countryside, which is taken to mean that huge new injections of funds are needed to support loss-making farms. With this, Aleksandr Zaveryukha ostentatiously walked out of the Council of Ministers Presidium session.

"My nerves could no longer stand the continuing failure to resolve the agrarian sector's problems"—that was his comment on his own harsh remarks and his departure from the session. This unprecedented step by one of the government's leaders makes you wonder: Is he also intending to leave the Cabinet with a bang? In any case, the vice premier has recently begun to use the present situation in the agrarian sector as a political card. After all, it is one thing to quit because of blunders in work, another because of political considerations, over differences of approach. Remember Sergey Glazyev's recent resignation: In explaining his reasons, he put the

emphasis not on major shortcomings or omissions in the ministry's work, but on political disagreements with certain government leaders. When INTERFAX asked him about resigning, Aleksandr Zaveryukha stated that, given this attitude to the agrarian sector, "being an agrarian specialist at heart and having devoted many years to this sector," he does not rule out this possibility.

How our ministers love to give a political character to differences of approach! And the greater the probability of someone leaving the Cabinet, the more political fuss. Clearly this political fuss suits him, because, as Aleksandr Zaveryukha has stated, he will probably run for the Federal Assembly. You may think the vice premier has already launched his election campaign. In the vice premier's words, "the more agrarian experts there are in the new legislative body, the more the peasantry will benefit." The peasantry has already benefited from the presence of a major agrarian expert in the government. Will it also benefit from his presence in the new parliament? We had a "parliament" before, in which some people lobbied for the agrarian sector, others for industrialists, others again for regions and territories, and others for their own kolkhozes or enterprises. We know where it led to. If the new parliament is not to repeat the destiny of the former Supreme Soviet, what it needs is not lobbyists, but people of a statesmanlike mentality.

Trial of 1991 Coup Plotters Continues in Moscow

LD2310040093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2044 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The trail of plotters of the 1991 abortive coup d'etat continues in Moscow. On Friday [22 October], another file containing charges against the coup plotters was read out.

The testimony mainly concerned activities of the country's armed forces in the period between August 19-21. Investigators believe that these actions were in full compliance with instructions given by former USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov. It was pointed out that the army, brought to a state of enhanced combat readiness, was engaged its routine operations and did not take part in August developments.

The court described the situation in which a curfew was imposed in Moscow and clashes between civilians and military units patrolling the city.

Documents read out in court testified that the CPSU Central Committee attempted to take the mass media under control and use it in the interests of the Committee for the State of Emergency. Documents were read out pertaining to a conference held by secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, chaired by Oleg Shenin who, in fact, became the head of the Central Committee. Shenin was a key figure in attempts to ensure that local party organisations give unconditional support to coup plotters' actions.

Reports were read out about two sessions of the Committee for the State of Emergency held in the Cabinet of the former Soviet Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev in the Kremlin on August 19 and 20, and a session of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers called late on August 19.

Election Issues

Yeltsin Orders Local Elections Before March

AU2210164293 Paris AFP in English 1625 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow, Oct 22 (AFP)—President Boris Yeltsin ordered Friday [22 October] that elections to local councils in Russian regions, districts and cities be held between December and March.

In a decree, a copy of which was sent to AFP, Yeltsin also "advised" Russia's constituent republics which enjoy a greater autonomy from Moscow to also hold elections in line with the presidential edict.

Yeltsin called earlier this month for the dissolution of the Bolshevik-era soviets, or local councils, stating that they had contributed to the violence that rocked Moscow on October 3 and 4.

About 20 soviets declared Yeltsin's decision on September 21 to dissolve parliament as "unconstitutional" and backed rebel deputies in the armed uprising against the Kremlin.

The decree called for "holding elections in the bodies of legislative authority in the regions, territories, districts and cities of the Russian Federation between December 1993 and March 1994."

Russian voters were also scheduled to go to the polls on December 12 for parliamentary elections that was to be held along with a nationwide referendum on the constitution.

Yeltsin has stated that a presidential vote would be held on June 12 but he has not issued a decree on the election.

In his decree, the Russian leader stated that the administrators must approve all laws adopted by the councils which he said should be comprised of no more than 50 deputies elected for a term of two years.

He added that governors however must approve laws that have been adopted by a majority of two-thirds in the council.

The Russian leader also clamped down on regional separatism by stating that all federal laws and presidential decrees take precedence over decisions taken by local councils.

Yeltsin on Elections, Constitution, Georgia

LD2310125893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1154 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nelli Grigoryan, Oleg Velichko and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Yaroslavl, 23 October—Boris Yeltsin confirmed today that the question of presidential elections will be decided by the Federal Assembly.

Answering questions from an ITAR-TASS correspondent at the end of his meeting with the heads of administration of Russia's central oblasts, Boris Yeltsin said that many problems had been discussed including the imperfections of the taxation system, the coming elections to parliament, the reform of representative bodies of authority, and the referendum on the draft new constitution. According to Boris Yeltsin, the president has no differences with the heads of administration on the implementation of economic reforms, but "they put forward a number of proposals that I need to take into account." Boris Yeltsin emphasized that the draft for the country's new Basic Law, which will be submitted to a referendum on 12 December, will be the "first really democratic constitution." The draft, he said, has been prepared on the basis of the most advanced western standards of democracy. At the same time, the head of state specified that the draft new constitution makes no provision for the post of a Russian vice president.

Boris Yeltsin stated that "a presidential decree on land will be signed within the next few days." "This decree is the one that we have been waiting for," he emphasized.

As for the fate of the soviets, Boris Yeltsin noted that "the reforming of representative bodies is under way in many oblasts and it will be completed." "This is the end of the power of the soviets," he stressed.

Speaking of CIS problems, the president noted that a most difficult situation has come about in Georgia. He said that the main problem in this connection was to ensure the functioning of the railway by the joint efforts of Georgia, Russia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. He announced that he has "signed a special order allocating funds to the Defense Ministry for Russia's participation in collective efforts to protect the railway."

Yeltsin Unveils 'Main Principles' for Local Elections

LD2410183093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1511 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin on Friday signed two papers dealing with the main principles of arranging local elections and a vote to the Moscow City Duma, presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich told INTERFAX and POSTFACTUM news agencies on Saturday.

He said that the 35-member Duma (one deputy from 200,000 constituents) would have powers to agree the candidacy of Mayor of Moscow, approve the city budget and social-economic development plans and act as watchdog body.

Candidates are to be nominated by registered parties and movements. Although the draft provides for 30,000 signatures to be collected to stand as candidate to the City Duma, Yeltsin may have changed the figure before signing the paper, Stankevich said. A mandatory money deposit envisaged by the draft was also deleted because of being out of line with the existing electoral law, he said.

Shokhin To Stand for Parliament

LD2410182093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1511 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin is going to stand for the State Duma as a candidate of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC). He told Interfax in an exclusive interview that the party, along with the Russia's Choice bloc, stands an excellent chance in the coming election.

Shokhin said the forecast that Russia's Choice might receive 34- 38 percent of votes was only tentative, for the situation in Russia was developing dynamically and much depended on whether there would be splits in the two principal political organizations or not.

In his opinion, the economic section of PRUC's election program gives it an advantage over the program of Russia's Choice, since, while advocating further economic reforms, it has other points of emphasis, in particular as regards relationships between federal and regional authorities. In addition, PRUC insists on changes in economic measures, ie in the privatization program.

The deputy premier regretted that, in the election campaign, the candidates nominated by democratically-oriented parties and blocs often tried "to drag each other through the mire, forgetting that all of them have the same opponents, the communists and patriots." He expressed the hope that the "democrats are aware of this and won't seek to get rid of each other."

Shokhin also said he had suggested dismissing all members of government wishing to stand for parliament. "This idea didn't get mass support, and leaving on my own seemed a shame, so I suggested giving leave to all those who take part in the election struggle, so that they could at least make as little use of their official positions as possible," he said. But that idea had no backing either, he said, for, in that case, the government would cease to exist, since all its members were going to stand for parliament.

Poltoranin Believes Presidential Elections To Be Early

LD2310145193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1418 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Head of the Russian Federal Information Center Mikhail Poltoranin believes there will be early presidential elections.

He told the Mayak radio station today the new parliament and, primarily, the president himself will decide on early elections of the state head.

"If the president insists there is a need for early elections, the parliament should concede on ethic reasons. I am sure the president will insist on the early elections," said Poltoranin.

Comments on Russia's Choice Bloc

LD2310191493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0815 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, member of the Russia's Choice Bloc, by Yuliy Semenov in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Semenov] Mikhail Nikiforovich, what is Russia's Choice? A temporary electoral bloc, a prototype maybe of a future parliamentary bloc, or the embryo of a future party? How do you define it?

[Poltoranin] I would say that it is the first, the second, and the third. Quite clearly it is an electoral bloc because it is made up of Democratic Russia, AKKOR [Association of Peasant Holdings and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia], the Peasant Union, and other organizations, as well as the Russia's Choice movement.

The Russia's Choice movement was created recently; moreover, it was created not from above, not from Moscow, but from below. Organizations have already been created in almost 50 Russian regions, and we have merely locked ourselves into the chain. The fact is that Democratic Russia, which has done an awful lot for Russia, has come to a standstill. Some people don't like this steadiness, some don't like the stagnation which Democratic Russia has found itself in, and people have begun to leave it. In order for us to again gather in the intelligentsia, both creative and technical, we have created a movement which has become part of the bloc, and today it is dominant in the bloc.

[Semonov] Some of the leaders of Democratic Russia themselves feel hurt. Do they have any reason for this?

[Poltoranin] They do not have any reason for this. Some of them have, say, personal ambitions that they are now losing. We have talked to them in this office for over 2 months. I met everyone several times a week, and we calmed them down by saying that we are not claiming a leading role, we simply want to avoid the democratic movement drying up like a stream in the desert heat. Because the possibilities and resources of Democratic Russia have been used up. It was necessary to breathe fresh breath and infuse fresh blood into the movement in order for the whole democratic bloc to win at the elections, and Russia's Choice is an infusion of fresh blood into the democratic movement.

[Semonov] How do you and your fellow thinkers regard the newly formed Shakhray party? What is this—friendly competition?

[Poltoranin] Yes, there are several blocs—for instance, the Shakhray bloc, the Sobchak bloc, the Yavlinskiy bloc, the Borovoy bloc, and several others—which on the whole are dancing on the same field, the democratic field, and of course we have to create some kind of electoral coalition with them. In my view it will be created. As for Shakhray's bloc, this is a special case. Of course, we are colleagues and we hold the same views. But I fear very much that his bloc might play the regional card, while the regional card has already been played by Russia's Choice. Almost all the heads of administration have joined it; in other words, representatives of the power which unites Russia at present, prevents it from breaking into individual states, and preserves its territorial integrity. Thus, if Shakhray plays the regional card today—he has only one commodity for this, in quotation marks, of course, local soviets. As you know, local soviets have done a lot in order to shake the unity of Russia. It is important that this balance is not broken by Shakhray's group. If he breaks it, if he starts running around with matches to set fire to the kerosene of separatism spilled over Russia at present, it will be very dangerous. I think they will have enough common sense not to do this.

[Semenov] What specific guidelines are you putting forward for this election campaign?

[Poltoranin] We will have order as our first priority. It is Russia's Choice that is doing more than anyone else to establish order in the country and to strengthen a legal basis for ensuring order. The country is sick and tired of the mafia, of racketeering, and of unlawfulness, which are greatly interfering with our lives.

After establishing order comes what we call the improvement of living standards. We have passed this difficult way. Now we need to get out of the difficult crisis situation in which Russia finds itself. And we are doing this. If the Central Bank, which used to engage in printing superfuluous money, is not in our way, and if other forces do not hinder us, then I think—and the elections are being held for this purpose, and it is our desire to have a majority in parliament—we will fulfil the task.

Perhaps the most important thing is that Russia's Choice reflects the idea of Russia as a great power, in the best meaning of the words. We will fight for Russia, not only to preserve itself and remain a single, indivisible, and integral state, but also to become stronger as a great

power which will be gradually joined, like a powerful body, by the states which have fallen off for some reason. But on a new basis. That is to say, we are reasonable and normal people. We stand on realistic ground. We are for Russia's people having enough to eat and having self-respect, so that they should not be ashamed of being Russian.

[Semenov] You probably know that a discussion is under way with regard to whether jobs in the future parliament and government can be combined as envisaged by the recent presidential edict. What do you think?

[Poltoranin] I have already expressed my viewpoint. I am against being a minister and a deputy—a member of the State Duma or Federation Council—at the same time, since there is such a notion as division of powers. I think one can avoid combining jobs.

[Semenov] Well, inasmuch as problems connected with the work of the press and the mass media closely affect you, just as they affect me, how do you see the role and work of the mass media, in particular Mayak, at the outset of the election campaigning?

[Poltoranin] This is a good question and it is being aired everywhere at the present time. It is being said that now that the Russia's Choice bloc has seized the commanding heights for itself it will bombard public opinion. This is not so. We have worked out a program to ensure that the mass media provide equal conditions for everyone. When we representatives of all the blocs gathered and I asked them to give us suggestions as to what provisions they would like to see made for the election campaign, they gave their suggestions, and on the basis of those suggestions we decided that there should be a public council, and that this public council should determine air time so that the people—for instance the officials and those working in television and radio—were not even involved in these matters and that everything was determined without our participation.

Naturally we should now consider the possibility of new names appearing. Russia is richly endowed with names, but we have become stuck on the Moscow uppercrust, and the news on television and radio is constantly about this Moscow uppercrust. God grant that these new names keep coming. If one can digress from the election campaign, I think that the mass media are simply obliged to look attentively at our life, analyze it, and fight corruption, the mafia and so on.

Here is an example for you. A year ago I made a speech and said that the Supreme Soviet was preparing for an armed seizure of power, and gave as examples the facts that armed detachments were being set up under the auspices of Khasbulatov, and that these detachments had already started guarding Ostankino, the All-Russian State Radio and Television Company, ITAR-TASS, the general procurator's office, and the Central Bank. It was then that such a storm was raised about what a scoundrel and a rogue Poltoranin was. Nevertheless, they were forced to remove their guard from Ostankino, the All-Russian State Radio and Television Company, and ITAR-TASS, but the weapons remained. The press, instead of trying to make them withdraw these weapons, also started to assent to this and make fun of it.

What we then saw was, of course, that parliament was insisting that Stepankov, the general procurator, set his hooks into me. Thank goodness that, although no one supported me, I have managed to defend myself at the procurator's office, and this whole business has been halted because of an absence of material evidence of any crime and of criminal happenings. Nevertheless, all these people who instigated this dirty business are today well and thriving. I even heard that Stepankov is getting ready to go as ambassador to New Zealand. I think that journalists should simply not let him leave for New Zealand and kick up...

[Semenov, interrupting] What do you mean, not let him leave? After all, this is not a private little shop that we are talking about.

[Poltoranin] I think that some of the decisions made at times make me think that we are indeed talking about a private little shop.

[Semenov] Mikhail Nikiforovich, you mentioned the parliament and the unpleasant events that occurred recently. What can you say today to the people who sympathize with the suspended parties? There are many people of this leaning.

[Poltoranin] I would not say that there are many of them. A great deal is being said today about the Communists and their kind. The Communist Party really used to be a huge party, but it consisted of an enormous mass of people who maintained it financially and who left as soon as the opportunity arose, and of a handful of people who existed at the expense of the party. The people who sympathize with them to a certain extent—it seems to me that they should give their leaders a good check once again. If they look closer at their leaders—[Gennadiy] Zyuganov, [Aleksandr] Barkashov, and the rest of them, [Ilya] Konstantinov, and so on—they will discover that these people only pursue their own aims and their own ambitions. I would like them to vote, if not for Russia's Choice, then at least for those who can do some work; we have many blocs of this kind, such as Sobchak's bloc, Yavlinskiy's bloc, and other blocs. However, I would like the electorate to support the Russia's Choice bloc, and I would like the press to support it as well, because the creme de la creme of our nation—I do not hesitate to use this phrase—is taking part in Russia's Choice, all those people who promote the ideas of democracy, who want Russia to be a strong and free state and not to remain an object of sponging from all sides, and who continue this policy today.

[Semenov] Apparently this will be the final question. Some supporters of the president currently speak against

early presidential elections next year. Of course, it will be for the new parliament to decide, but what is your opinion?

[Poltoranin] I think it will be determined both by the new parliament and, first and foremost, by the president himself. If the president insists that new elections are needed the parliament will have to agree, out of ethical considerations. I am convinced that the president will insist on holding early elections. They will crown, as it were, the entire process of the reorganization of our statehood, because we have already passed that watershed which separates us today from the state of soviets, and we are entering a new zone where Russia is becoming a democratic state with a two- chamber parliament, with a division of powers, with a president who is the head of state. And a new composition of parliament and of all structures, including local self-government structures, naturally requires a new president.

[Semenov] Thank you for the interview.

[Poltoranin] Thank you.

Filatov Discusses Election Preparations

LD2310132393 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Andrey Babayev on news conference by Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration in the House of the Russian Press on 22 October; Filatov's remarks recorded]

[Text] The issue of preparations for the elections has recently occupied a significant part of our programs and the mass media in general. This is not surprising since there is hardly any time until the elections. Over this time, each person has to choose for himself a worthy candidate for whom he will cast his vote. At the same time, many important points of the election campaign have not yet been approved. In general, many Russians are not entirely certain what the duma and the Federation Council are, and what they will represent. You might get answers to some questions after listening to material by our correspondent, Andrey Babayev.

[Babayev] Sergey Filatov, the head of the president's administration, met journalists in the House of the Russian Press. The meeting was devoted to how the preparations for the forthcoming elections were going. In his words, this work is under way but one would like it to be going at a faster rate.

[Filatov] Of course we would like to have a more complete result today because, according to an estimation by the Central Electoral Commission and our own, we are starting to get somewhat behind in finalizing the documents that should have been ready by now.

The setting up of blocs has, of course, been somewhat held up, as although we realize we are doing something completely new, we have not prepared well enough in advance and were caught rather unawares.

Nevertheless, all the parties and associations that today have announced their participation and possible participation in the election campaign and in the elections, are conducting intensive consultations and work. Some have already held congresses, some are intending to hold them, but in any case I think that this week the list that will be presented to the Central Electoral Commission by the parties and associations will be ready. So far, according to preliminary information, there are 17 parties, associations, blocs, and movements that intend to take part independently in the election campaign.

The recent changes in the provisions for the elections have also had a mixed response, as have the recent changes in the provisions for the federal bodies of power as a whole, from the point of view of restrictions, or, on the contrary, the lifting of restrictions for the elections of deputies to the State Duma and for the elections of deputies to the Federation Council.

The fact is that the draft constitution is being examined today by a working commission. The chambers have, in actual fact, already started examining it from three points of view. The first is on the compromises that were adopted under pressure from the strong confrontation between the two branches of powers to the detriment of the quality, let us say, of [words indistinct] part. With the support of the soviets, the leaders of the soviets, and at the Constitutional Conference, in the working bodies of the Constitutional Conference where the new draft constitution was formed, a number of compromises had to be made which, to a significant extent, harmed the document that was originally drawn up. The lessons of October are the second position—the lessons of the 3rd and 4th, that is, the analysis of the reasons for such clashes. The wonderful formula that we badly need for the principle of the division of power has, in some ways, been reduced to the absurd, if one considers by holding the post of deputy being able to work for state bodies.

The second point is: I think that whether we like it or not, executive structures will use cadres from lawmaking bodies. This cannot be stopped by force; no forcible methods can stop this. Therefore, the processes that took place here until recently, impoverished, as it were, the representative power body because, according to the existing rules and amendments to the Constitution, when the parliamentary cadres were used in some other capacity, they were removed from that body of power and, in fact, our parliament was drained of its cadres. It resulted, as a matter of fact, in the situation when the lawmaking process—which is a process of interaction of these bodies—this interaction was reduced to nothing.

[Babayev] In his speech, Filatov dwelt in some detail on the functions that the Council of the Federation should perform.

[Filatov] Taking into consideration what has happened, the president has decided that members of the government may be elected to the State Duma. It also seems to me that the interaction of these bodies and participation of government members in the work of the State Duma will add more content, both to the activities of the State Duma itself and to the lawmaking process taking place in the state. In the final analysis, we have one state and one people; we have the same common cause for which we must work, for the sake of our people. The Council of the Federation gives an overall assessment, as it were, of the work being done by the State Duma. It is not one of its tasks to study every law article by article. Its task is to make the basic decision whether a law is needed or not. The draft constitution, which will be put to vote at the referendum, as well as a statute on that body, both say that it mostly concerns itself with cadre policy, but also interacts with the president during the state of emergency and military rule and assesses documents and laws adopted by the State Duma. This body is regional or even inter-regional because it includes two representatives from each constituent part of the Federation.

[Babayev] Many of the journalists present at the news conference were interested in the question of whether equal conditions would be provided for all parties and associations putting forward candidates at the elections to publicize their manifestos.

[Filatov] There is, at present, a special plan that has been developed for television where a special program will be devoted to various forms of preparations for the electoral campaign. Therefore, I think that the creation of special broadcasts on television, in various forms, will help the electorate get to know better all the candidates who are running for election.

A special presidential decree is actually being prepared on creating equal conditions on television and radio for all parties and associations participating in the election campaign.

Ryabov Interviewed on Election Campaign

PM2210115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report on interview with Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov under the "Russia Before Elections" rubric; place and date of interview not given: "Central Electoral Commission Clarifies Election Campaign Schedule"]

[Text] The main argument in favor of early parliamentary elections, which can be singled out from my conversation with Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, is this: It is dangerous to leave Russia for a long time in a one-on-one situation with the executive. The country needs a system of state power, otherwise an authoritarian regime lies in store for us, and the threat that fascist forces might seize power will persist.

The extent of the political damage caused by the confrontation between the branches of power is well known. But N. Ryabov especially mentioned its parliamentary aspect: The collapse of the former Supreme Soviet. N. Ryabov is convinced that the future deputies will have to go through a lengthy and painful process of major efforts to restore parliament's prestige and status in the country's life, in the public's mind, and in the politicians' perceptions.

The weak legal backup of the electoral process was described by N. Ryabov as a direct consequence of the tragedy. A potentially damaging factor is already built into the actual Statute on Elections, primarily because it is not a law. As for the draft law on elections itself, the previous parliament's leadership kept it literally under wraps, hoping to remain on the Olympus of power "forever." In his opinion, the future parliament may face a problem in the different degrees of legitimacy of the deputies who will be elected. He also described the absence of a constructive opposition in the political arena—seeing that such an opposition is only just beginning to emerge—as a negative aspect of the election campaign. The previous opposition, with grenade launchers in hand and with snipers on the rooftops, signed its own sentence. Nonetheless, N. Ryabov believes, the president had no other option but to use his 21 September edict to switch on the mechanism for shaping the new Russian statehood.

In N. Ryabov's opinion, the electoral process is developing along the lines of democracy. He reminded me that, at the time the elections were called, it was assumed that parliament's upper chamber, the Federation Council, would be automatically "composed" of members of Federation components' leadership, many of whom were appointed and others were elected "in the era of historical materialism." As a result of legal revision, this decision was repealed, eliminating at the same time the obvious imbalance of political forces which would no doubt have engendered fierce confrontation in the future parliament. It is perfectly feasible, N. Ryabov went on, that the four-year term of this chamber's deputies will be revised: "With subsequent rotation after two years." This renewal procedure "will bind deputies to the problems of their regions." As for the State Duma deputies, they should be elected for a four-year term, with the president being at the same time empowered to dissolve the lower chamber. But, N. Ryabov emphasized, this power can be vested in the president only by the Constitution.

N. Ryabov did not rule out the possibility that "an opposition may emerge in society" during the election campaign, calling "on everyone to vote against everyone else." This would have the effect of a detonator for the country's collapse.

Asked whether there is any point in holding elections with such a high degree of risk, N. Ryabov replied: "There is a very pertinent point. We created the current situation jointly, but this does not mean that we should

only aggravate it." In this context he described as an exceptionally important factor the decision to hold a referendum on the Constitution—this will overcome the delicate problem of the representative power's legitimacy.

The election campaign will cost approximately 170 billion rubles. The costs of the upcoming referendum are being estimated at present. The simultaneous holding of these two events would result in sizeable savings and a serious reduction in costs. N. Ryabov announced that an Accounting and Monitoring Administration is being set up under the Central Electoral Commission for the financial monitoring of the election campaign and, in addition to Commission members, it will comprise representatives of the Central Bank, the Ministry of Finance, and the Taxation and other inspectorates. All reports by electoral commissions will be published in the press.

In the next few days the Central Electoral Commission will adopt a Statute on the Procedure for Use of Mass Media by Candidate Deputies. But N. Ryabov has already been put on his guard by the "sympathy" shown by Ostankino State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company for the "Russia's Choice" bloc and S. Shakhray's party. A situation must be developed whereby the "esteemed political parties and blocs" do not use their influence to the detriment of other contestants. Otherwise official warnings will be issued.

N. Ryabov has a direct telephone link with the president, enabling him "to call at any time." Relying on his own strength, he has telephoned only twice and has had two meetings with B. Yeltsin. The last time was immediately following the president's visit to Japan. B. Yeltsin asked to be briefed on the course of the election campaign and wanted to know about the way it is organized, the adherence to schedule, and the reactions of Federation components.

According to N. Ryabov's information, about 100 independent international observers are expected to arrive in Russia, including representatives of prestigious organizations like the G-7, the Council of Europe, the EC, the Europarliament, and the CSCE. They will not only "identify mistakes," but will also help in creating conditions for a democratic election.

N. Ryabov recommended that future candidate deputies make note of two dates of the greatest importance for them. Those to be elected in single-seat districts have until 15 November to collect signatures in support from 1 percent of voters in their district and to submit to the district commission the lists of signatures and a statement of consent to stand for election in the district in question. Those to be elected on the Federation-wide list have until 7 November to file the same documents with the Central Electoral Commission. The only difference being that the latter have to collect 100,000 signatures in seven Federation components.

Comments on Status of Preparations

PM2510115793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with N.T. Ryabov, leader of the Central Electoral Commission, by Vladimir Yanchenkov under the "Politics" rubric; place and date not given: "Election Campaign Enters New Phase"]

[Text] An important phase of the election marathon has ended—district electoral commission chairmen have been confirmed at a session of the Central Electoral Commission. In connection with this ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent again met with Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.

[Yanchenkov] Nikolay Timofeyevich, how might you characterize the current stage of the election marathon?

[Ryabov] Before answering your question, I would like to especially note the fine, clear, up-to-date work of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. You publish timely, objective, and wide-ranging information—including official information—on the preparation of the elections. If all the mass media worked with the same responsibility as ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, it would, of course, be far easier for the country's population to understand the current situation and complex election matters.

As for your question, I will say the following. We have completed a most important phase, having confirmed the chairmen of district electoral commissions: 225 people have been confirmed by name in this capacity. All these people are exceptionally interesting. Something has happened, the like of which has never happened before.

Formerly, district electoral commission chairmen were exclusively leading party and soviet officials. Today the picture is absolutely different. Now one of the indispensable requirements for leaders of district commissions is that they should without fail have the highest level of juridical education so as to work professionally to the highest degree.

The social spectrum of the makeup of district commission chairmen is extremely wide. There are administration officials and representatives of local soviets and economic and law-enforcement organs. There are rectors of educational establishments and leaders of partnerships and limited enterprises of various kinds. And—this is especially noteworthy—there are numerous people from the so-called free professions: lawyers, leaders of legal consultation services, and so forth. All these people are united by the most important thing—a high degree of professionalism: the trust which is placed in them in the regions, and readiness to work flat out.

[Yanchenkov] Here is another question. The Statutes on Elections to the Federation Council and the State Duma definitely state that the Central Electoral Commission ensures the observance of equal legal conditions for

pre-election activity for all parties and movements, electoral associations, and candidate deputies. But, after all, such all-powerful figures as, say, Vladimir Shumeyko, whose transport and other possibilities are practically unlimited, and let us say, that same legal consultant from the hinterland of whom you spoke, could become candidate deputies... How are their rights and possibilities to be made equal?

[Yanchenkov] Such possibilities, and not only the legal ones, will be ensured. If, let us suppose, Shumeyko, since you have adduced him as an example, is registered as a candidate deputy, he will be granted, say, 30 minutes airtime on television. Exactly the same number of minutes will be given to this legal consultant, and at exactly the same sort of time.

As for transport possibilities, according to the Statutes on the Elections all candidate deputies will have their transport expenses paid by the state.

Of course, you can't put all candidate deputies on exactly the same footing. But as soon as one citizen or another is registered as a candidate, he will at once be notified of the rules which he must steadfastly observe...

[Yanchenkov] The 21 October issue of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA published a commentary entitled: "Is Politics Obscuring Economics?" It expressed the fear that members of the government and ministries, getting carried away as candidate deputies, might neglect the levers of economic control...

[Ryabov] This is not a question for me. But I can give my private opinion. The fear is justified. Paralysis must not be allowed to overtake economic management for the entire period of the election campaign. Therefore, the leadership of Chernomyrdin's government must approach this task very responsibility and regulate everything in such a way that the work of ministries and departments is not disturbed.

[Yanchenkov] It is well known that Chechnya is refusing to participate in the 12 December elections. The paper is receiving quite a few reports that the organs of representative power in several regions intend to postpone the elections until spring. What is your position in this regard?

[Ryabov] I have no such reports. I do have facts, and these facts suggest that not a single republic, not a single kray, not a single oblast is officially refusing to participate in the elections. Moreover, they are all participating energetically in the preparation for it. The proof of this is the very formation of these same district electoral commissions and the energetic process of setting up precinct electoral commissions.

Just take the people who have been confirmed as chairman of district electoral commissions. I did not invent them! There are 225 names of real people! They were nominated by federation components and were discussed there. Therefore, if here and there some inner or full soviets make some statements—that is their business. But at the same time these same soviets are directly participating in the preparation of the elections, and are not openly opposing this process.

As for Chechnya, the question still remains open as far as it is concerned. We are working with Chechnya, but the remaining 88 federation components, as I have said, are preparing for elections extremely energetically. Headquarters and groups to support the organization of the elections have been set up everywhere. And those who are making statements about postponing them to a more remote time... Of course, they understand perfectly that today their actions will literally torpedo outright any state of peace or stability in Russia.

Incidentally, yesterday I had a phone call from Gennadiy Zyuganov; do you know him? He told me that communists are compiling their own list and consulting on one or two technical problems. Do you understand? Only those parties and movements who by their own actions in the tragic days of October in Moscow excluded themselves from opposition, and hence were banned by the president's edict, will not be participating in the elections. All the rest—both the pro-presidential parties and associations and those of the opposition—are all actively engaged in the election marathon.

[Yanchenkov] And a last question. At the same time as the 12 December elections the referendum on the adoption of the Russian Constitution is to be held. Will this not complicate the elections themselves?

[Ryabov] Naturally, this creates additional difficulties, but only of a purely technical nature. There are immeasurably more pluses here than minuses. After all, what is the danger of today's state of affairs? The prime danger is the absence of a normal structure of federal power. The absence of a Constitution. The Constitution which we had no longer exists because it was used by certain forces as a means for a coup d'etat.

That means that the quicker society adopts a Russian Constitution, the more guarantees there will be for establishing secure political stability in the state. A powerful legal basis for the activity of the Federation Council and the formation of power structures in the localities will appear.

If anyone says that the adoption of a Constitution at the 12 December referendum is a hasty matter, he is simply lying. The Constitution which will be submitted to referendum did not just appear today. Its main provisions were discussed and approved in the Congress of People's Deputies; it was twice published for nationwide discussion; it was refined and approved by the Constitutional Conference, and published again. It is even now being refined, taking account of the remarks of the federation components. This Constitution is the logical culmination of the huge process of preparing the Fundamental Law that has taken more than three years. Therefore, there can be no question of haste.

Reviews Proceedings

LD2310104693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0741 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Gordiyenko]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation Nikolay Ryabov gave an interview to Russian TV on Friday, in which he expressed confidence that Russian citizens would take part in the elections. He said at the same time that, according to official statistics, 20 per cent of Russian citizens sympathize with the former Supreme Soviet (parliament) and 46 per cent have said "no" to the president's policy of reform. "It is quite probable that those people will not come to the polls," Ryabov pointed out.

However, a major part of the population has supported the reform, he continued. According to Ryabov, those citizens who expressed readiness to take part in the formation of Russia's statehood will take part in the elections.

Responding to the question about the degree of openness and glasnost at the forthcoming elections, Ryabov said that, in accordance with the regulations on elections, representatives of mass media organs may be accredited at the Central Electoral Commission and district commissions. He said that the regulations on the status of foreign observers have been drafted and submitted to the president to be signed. An executive order of the president is now being prepared. Invitations have already been sent.

Commenting on the stand of the Chechen leaders, who announced that the creation of a constituency would not be permitted in chechnya, Ryabov said that "we plan to set up polling stations to enable people to express their attitude to the new Russian constitution and to the elections of deputies." In his opinion, the refusal to take part in the elections is a serious political mistake of General Dudayev. He said he expected from the Chechen leadership "a more constructive approach to this electoral campaign."

Notes Election Campaign

LD2410214593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 24 October broadcasts the "Voskresenye" magazine program, during which reporter Ivan Pankov reports on a poll of women's views on the Moscow streets concerning the future parliamentary elections. He then goes on to interview Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Election Committee.

Pankov begins the interview with Ryabov by saying: "Many people compare this election campaign with an express train, a train that is having new wheels put on all the time while its moving."

Ryabov replies: "The country cannot be left without a federal body of power [word indistinct] for an indefinite time. This is fraught with dangerous consequences, with the danger of an authoritarian regime being formed. Here, one can only welcome the courage that the president showed. There were, indeed, changes. These changes in no way affected the actual course of the election campaign, they only created more rational and beneficial conditions for conducting it, so if one regards them as additional wheels they are wheels for greater steadiness, greater safety, that is all. I would not pay special attention to that. You understand that this is not important, if only because these normative acts are of a temporary nature. The president lays no claim to promulgating laws. He understands perfectly, and has stated this, that a State Duma and a Federation Council will be elected, and then they will adopt the necessary laws in connection with the elections, including presidential elections.

Pankov then asks: "Foreign observers are coming to Russia. Is this necessary?"

Ryabov replies: "Approximately over 100 observers are expected, of course. They will watch the course of the election campaign, especially the course of campaigning and propaganda through the media. Naturally, they will be present at the elections and at the vote count. By this, we immediately solve the problem of Russia being accepted into such bodies as, for instance, the Council of Europe. Russia has handed in such an official application, but for it to be accepted a special commission that directly studies the issues of human rights and electoral rights must work here. Here they will just study this, not only on paper, but will participate in this process, and this way will prepare the respective reports, both for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Council of Ministers, and for the government heads of the European countries, to show whether there are foundations for democracy in Russia. Then it is extremely important how the processes that are developing in Russia are perceived by world public opinion, especially after the highest legislative power of the Russian Federation, in the form of the Supreme Soviet, was liquidated undemocratically.

"If Russia allows serious infringements in the elections it will discredit itself before the European international community, because what happened on 3-4 October can be justified only by the efforts of the country's leadership, the efforts of the whole country to make society more democratic."

Says District Electoral Commissions Ready

LD2310175193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian Federation's Central Electoral Commission has shaped up all of the 225 district electoral commissions, with the exception of Chechnya, this commission's Chairman Nikolay Ryabov told the Public

Chamber of the Constitutional Conference chaired by Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak.

He also announced that the Central Electoral Commission had drafted almost all documents needed for the election campaign. The drafting of the provision on the utilization of the mass media in the election campaign is nearing completion, he said. He also noted that neither Shumeyko, nor Gaydar figured in the lists of candidates, presented by the parties.

Ryabov opposes the suspension of the Cabinet members' duties during the election campaign because, he said, this goes against the current laws. A candidate must be free to decide whether or not to work during the election campaign, he added.

Ryabov also opposes the practice of collecting signatures in support of the candidates during hours in the worker groups because "the work of the signature-collectors may violate the law".

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told Interfax that the absence of his name in the lists of candidates, presented to the Central Electoral Commission, did not mean that he would not run for election to the Federal Assembly. "Simply, we must discuss some things. There is no need to make the lists in haste. We still have enough time," he said.

He said that Constitutional Conference's Public Chamber would recommend excluding the provision on the sovereign status of the republics. Moreover, the Federation Treaty should be outside the frames of the constitution, he said.

Lukin on Election Bloc, Work in U.S.

MK2310120993 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

[Yuriy Zaynashev report: "Romantics From the Highway—Vladimir Lukin Is Responsible for the Future"]

[Text] Although all the TV stations and papers have already "fired" Mr. Lukin, Vladimir Petrovich himself remains Russia's ambassador to the United States. In the meantime Mr. Lukin has taken advantage of his vacation and is knocking together an election bloc (without a name so far) in Moscow. If Vladimir Petrovich is elected to the State Duma, he will of course give up his chair across the ocean. Then it will appear that the new bloc will be headed exclusively by retired players from Boris Yeltsin's team: In addition to former ambassador Lukin, there will also be Yavlinskiy, former deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; and Boldyrev, former Russian Federation chief controller. The leaders of the new union refer to themselves as coming from the democratic camp, and consider both Shakhray's Russian Unity Party and Gaydar's Russia's Choice bloc as their partners.

"We favor a consistent and predictable policy, but are against 'explosive' methods of administration," Vladimir Lukin said in an interview with MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. "Russia is a ship which is very difficult to steer, and it should not be steered in such a way that half the crew will fly overboard. The state must ensure peace for its citizens; social guarantees are needed for all strata that cannot immediately adjust to radical reforms, to new rules of the game. For instance, most MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS readers are energetic people; they move around and they will extricate themselves eventually, but other people—those who read other papers—must not find themselves in a situation in which the only way out is to seize a cobblestone. Part of the responsibility for the minor civil war of 3 and 4 October lies with those who pursued the reform by "explosive" methods.

"We are counting on the intelligentsia, on qualified workers, on all thinking people who can distinguish not only black and white. This part of the demographic spectrum has led Russia to reforms and supported Yeltsin in the referendum, but it has certain questions on some aspects of the government course. We have already been joined by the "greens," the Republican Party, and the Christian Democrats (but without the hyperactive Yakunin). As you can see, this is a group of leaders whose names are pretty well known and of not very large (by our standards) parties."

Vladimir Lukin is happy with his assignment across the ocean. For approximately 20 years, at the Institute of the United States and Canada, he had studied the country now playing host to him. Boris Yeltsin sent him to Washington in early 1992. Already that fall the president called the embassy in the United States the most hardest working among all Russian embassies. Viktor Chernomyrdin, visiting America in August, paid tribute to Lukin in writing for preparing that visit and generally for his meritorious service. In the United States Lukin met and established a strong relationship with writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Vladimir Petrovich, just like in the years of the "dissident kitchens" [reference to informal conversations during the years of totalitarianism], likes to have a drink with his friends. At presidential receptions in the White House (in the real White House, not the Moscow one) he, as a favor, is usually treated to a glass (only one) of a Cahors wine whose taste "nostalgically" reminds the ambassador of "Portveyn 777" [cheap fortified wine widely popular in the former Soviet Union]. Nonetheless, the U.S. press calls Mr. Lukin the "non-drinking Russian ambassador."

Wits have already dubbed the new election bloc "YABLOKO" ["APPLE"]—Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, Lukin, and company. For his part Vladimir Petrovich has devised a serious name for the bloc—"Responsibility for the Future." Responding to a question from MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS whether this is not too

romantic, he answered in the affirmative: "If I was not a little of a romantic, I would never have gone into politics."

On the other hand, the ambassador's son, former Moscow City Soviet deputy Aleksandr Lukin, has sided with the "rivals"—Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord. Apparently he is not such a romantic. True, both maintain that there will be no civil war in the family.

Further Lukin Remarks

LD2310174093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Vladimir Lukin, Russia's ambassador to the United States, who together with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Yuriy Boldyrev heads a new electoral bloc, has stated that this as yet unnamed association favors predictable policies and rejects impulsive methods for the Government of Russia. According to Vladimir Lukin, the new bloc is intended for intellectuals, qualified workers, and all thinking people who do not see things in only black or white terms. This is the part of the democratic spectrum, he explained, that led Russia toward reforms and supported Yeltsin in the referendum but questions certain aspects of the government's course.

Four Party Lists of Candidates Approved

LD2210170593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The Democratic Party of Russia headed by Nikolay Travkin and the "Women of Russia" political movement got their lists of candidates for the upcoming elections approved by the the Central Electoral Commission on Friday. Now these parties can go ahead and legally start collecting signatures in their support.

At the beginning of this week two other parties passed the Central Electoral Commission's "test" and have begun collecting signatures. These are the National Republican Party headed by Nikolay Lycenko, and the political bloc "August", formed by the Party of Economic Freedom headed by Konstantin Borovoy and the Constitutional Democrats headed by Viktor Zolotaryov.

Once the political parties have their lists of candidates approved, they need to collect 100 thousand or more voters' signatures in at least seven parts of the Russian Federation in order to have their representatives officially registered by the Central Electoral Commission as candidates for deputies to the state Duma.

Several well-known political parties, such as the "Choice of Russia" bloc, have not yet even submitted their lists of candidates for approval.

More Parties Submit Lists of Candidates

MK2310115593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

["NG"-report in the "In Brief" column: "'Russia's Choice'—Today"]

[Text] The Constitutional Democratic and the Russian Christian-Democratic parties submitted their lists of candidates to the Central Election Commission yesterday afternoon. The list of the former includes 153 candidates with Mikhail Astafyev, Igor Shafarevich, and Aleksandr Nevzorov at its top. The list is divided into federal and regional parts. At the top of the Moscow list are Yuriy Bondarev and Petr Proskurin. Topping the list of the Russian Christian-Democratic Party (a little more than 100 people) is administrator of affairs Aleksandr Chuyev, followed by Anatoliy Pchelintsev and Aleksandr Tripolskiy. The fourth candidate is Father Innokentiy (Pavlov), who is going to challenge the Moscow Patriarchate's ban on the participation of the clergy in elections. According to some reports from sources in the Central Election Commission, the election bloc Russia's Choice is supposed to submit its list there some time today.

12 Parties Listed by Central Commission for Elections

LD2310174593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Over the past week 12 parties and electoral blocs submitted to the Central Electoral Commission lists of candidates running for State Duma of the Federal Assembly.

These include: the Liberal Democratic Party (Vladimir Zhirinovskiy), the National-Republican Party (Nikolay Lysenko), the "August" Movement incorporating the Party of Economic Freedom (Konstantin Borovoy) and the Party of Constitutional Democrats (Viktor Zolotarev), the Democratic Party of Russia (Nikolay Travkin), the "Women of Russia" Movement, the Conservative Party (Lev Ubozhko), the Consolidation Party (Aleksandr Tikhonov), the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Mikhail Astafyev), the Christian- Democratic Party (Aleksandr Chuyev), the Russian Christian- Democratic Movement (Viktor Aksyuchits),the Agrarian Party (Mikhail Lapshin), the Russian Nationwide Union (Sergey Baburin).

Apart from the Russian Christian-Democratic Movement (RCDM) and the Russian Nationwide Union (RNU), all other parties and blocs have received copies of lists which enable them to start collecting the necessary number of signatures—100,000. The RCDM and RNU will probably receive the copies of lists October 25.

Latest reports say that the RNU list is headed by Sergey Baburin, Nikolay Pavlov and Svetlana Goryacheva, Vitaliy Sevostyanov, Anatoliy Chekhoyev, Yelena Lukyanova (daughter of the former Soviet parliament speaker

Anatoliy Lukyanov), Oleg Baklanov accused of plotting the August 1991 coup, the former editor-in-chief Vladimir Chikin and so on.

Communist Party Forms Possible Main Opposition Bloc

MK2310114593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 2

[Report by Olga Odintsova and Yevgeniy Krasnikov under the "Parties" rubric: "Opposition Parties Form Their Blocs. Lists Feature Scandalous and Influential Politicians"]

[Text] The Justice Ministry's decision to include the Russian Federation Communist Party [RFCP] in the list of organizations allowed to take part in the December elections, to all appearances, may cause the most serious realignment among opponents of the current authorities on the eve of the elections. At any rate, now it is perfectly clear which organization will be considered "the main one" by opposition loyalists and for whom the most intransigent opponents of the current regime will cast their votes. According to available reports, the Communist Party plans to contest the elections not on its own, but by setting up a broad communist- patriotic bloc.

The RFCP's return to politics has caused a visible shift "to the right" by the "Fatherland" electoral bloc of the socialists and patriots. Yesterday, the small left-wing Labor Party announced its withdrawal from the bloc. Now "Fatherland" will be based on four organizations: the Socialist Workers Party, the Revival Union, the Union of Cossacks, and the Union of Oil Industrialists.

Presently it is clear that small opposition patriotic organizations will try to attract attention during the elections by starting their lists of candidates with well-known, and even somewhat scandalous, names. For instance, the Constitutional Democratic Party nominated among its first candidates its chairman, Mikhail Astafyev; Aleksandr Nevzorov, a television journalist; and academician Igor Shafarevich.

The centrists, as behooves the "real centrists," preferred to begin their lists with "influential people:" entrepreneurs and factory directors. The first "troika" of the "Civic Union For Stability, Justice, Progress" electoral bloc includes Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; KamAZ car plant director Nikolay Bekh; and Aleksandr Vladislavlev, leader of the "Renewal" union and cochairman of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Only after them follow Oleg Rumyantsev, Aleksandr Tsipko, and Pavel Voshchanov.

Yesterday, Aleksandr Tikhonov, chairman of the Consolidation Party and general director of the "InterUral" enterprise, announced at a press conference the creation of yet another centrist electoral association. Apart from the Consolidation Party, it comprises the "Germes" concern under Valeriy Neverov, a successful businessmen, and also "Charity and Health," a fund that recently elected Viktor Filippov, chief of the "Nefteotdacha" state-owned scientific- technical enterprise, as its chief. It is these people who will make up the bloc's first "troika."

According to Tikhonov, what these people have in common is that "they have never engaged in idle talk and proved that they can work in any critical economic conditions."

Communist Workers Party Not To Enter Elections

LD2310175793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian Communist Workers' Party will not take part in the forthcoming elections to the State Duma. It will urge the population to boycott them, Secretary of the Organizing Buro of this party's Central Committee, Viktor Tyulkin, told a press conference on Saturday.

He said, however, that his party intended to secure several seats in the State Duma for the sole purpose of saying :"Your actions are anticonstitutional". Tyulkin also noted that his party had not yet shaped its attitude to the elections to the local self-government bodies.

The Communist Workers' Party insists on holding a referendum on the Soviet Socialist Constitution of Russia, drafted by former people's deputy Yuri Slobodkin. More than 1 million signatures have ben collected in support of such a referendum, he said.

Banned National Assembly To Take Part in Elections

LD2310112793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Now a report from St. Petersburg, which we have received from the IMA press agency. The rumors that we no longer exist have been greatly exaggerated—we are very much alive and are going to take part in the forthcoming elections to the Duma, even if we have to associate ourselves for this purpose with parties and movements that have not been banned but are not strong enough. Aleksandr Sterligov, a leader of patriots said at a meeting with activists and supporters of the Russian National Assembly [Russkiy Natsionalnyy Sobor].

Although he did not speak about the work of the Russian National Assembly under the new conditions in any detail, the retired KGB general said that the presidential decree banning his organization was too straightforward and acceptable only to meek people with a defeatist outlook, but not to well-organized movements full of fighting spirit. In conclusion, Sterligov said: We are looking for a common ground with the opposition parties, and the more pressure the Kremlin exerts on us, the more cohesive are our ranks and the wiser our policy.

'Consolidation' Party To Run in Elections

LD2210212593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1409 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The "Consolidation" Party has declared today that it has set up a new association "the Association of the Consolidation Party" in the run up to parliamentary elections.

The party includes entrepreneurs, bankers, scientists, representatives of public charity organisations. Today, the party numbers around 29,000 members and by mid-November its membership is likely to reach 100,000. The party is led by the head of the "Interural" Association, Aleksandr Tikhonov, chairman of the board of directors of the "Hermes" concern, Valeriy Neverov, and president of the foundation "Mercy and Health," Viktor Philipov.

The party incorporates centrist forces and its main task is to "create consistent economic legislation acceptable for Russia to ensure the development of industrial forces and raise the living standards of the population on the basis of market mechanisms."

The party comes out for the protection of domestic manufacturers by economic methods, for maintaining social welfare of all strata of the population at a high level and against any forms of autocratic power.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS Tikhonov pointed out that the party is prepared to unite with all political forces who share and support the centrist position. However, judging by statements made by leaders of the party, the newly established pre-election association does not intend to stand for parliamentary elections jointly with the bloc led by Gregory Yavlinskiy, the "Russia's Choice" bloc and the Party of Economic Freedom.

Yavlinskiy's Bloc Expects To Win at Least 30 Seats

MK2310125193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 69, 23 Oct 93 (signed to press 22 Oct) p 2

[Vladimir Zorich report under the "Aspirants" rubric: "'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin:' Enough Names To Call a Bloc. 'Intelligent But Honest' Say They Are Running Election Campaign With Their Own Funds"]

[Text] As of now this alliance is officially called by the first three names on the voting list: "The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc." Its initiators admit that they have given up various slogan-type options (like for instance "Responsibility" or "New Bloc") because in the final analysis the main weapon in the election struggle will be the leaders' names.

Finally composed Friday night, the list will be submitted for registration on Monday. The names of the first three leaders are followed by the names of six associates at the EPI-Center led by Mr. Yavlinskiy and candidates from the allied parties—the Social Democrats, the Republicans and the Christian Democratic Union. It is maintained that the "order on the list is not at all a subject for bargaining" since the supporters of the big threesome are hoping to win not less than 30 seats in parliament, citing provincial sociological surveys whereby Grigoriy Yavlinskiy up to now is running ahead of all the politicians, losing only to Boris Yeltsin, who is not running for the State Duma.

The alliance insists that it will bring to the Duma a "team of professionals: major economists, politicians, and political scientists." Of the six candidates from the EPI-Center, four (Mikhaylov, Zadornov, Yarygina and Ivanenko) worked in the Ivan Silayev government.

The main postulate of the election agitation by the big three is never pronounced aloud but is implicit in all conversations with the team members: "professional and intelligent, but with clean hands—maybe partly because they are not members of the present government." It is also noteworthy that Grigoriy Yavlinksiy, according to SEGODNYA's information, is not particularly inclined to stress his "past merits" like the 500 Days program or the treaty on an economic union whose feasibility has always been in question. Aloud they are talking about "consistent democracy of positions," especially demanding "restoration of legality" and "reform without shock where restructuring gets priority over financial stabilization."

The alliance promises "not to be at war" with Russia's Choice and "Shakhray's Party," while members Yavlinskiy's team regard interaction with them in majority constituencies as a "subject for consultations." As the bloc says, there is no shortage of initiatives on the part of the government: "Staraya Ploshchad has related to our plan extremely seriously and we are liked by many, but this does not bind us to anything."

Incidentally, the bloc organizers deny direct participation by big investors in their fate. According to them, the campaign is being run with funds raised by the parties and the EPI-Center while outside donations are measured in average sums: approximately 10 million rubles. Although nothing is known about the export of raw materials or successful financial speculations by EPI-Center specialists, it is hard to believe that such prominent names will be left without attention on the part of entrepreneurial circles.

'Russia's Choice' Aide Urges 'Honest and Free' Elections

PM2510110393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

[Commentary by Sergey Kovalev under "Economics" rubric: "We Have a Chance To Form a Responsible Parliament: Sergey Kovalev, Chairman of 'Russia's Choice' Movement Board, Believes"]

[Text] We have ahead of us a choice, the first genuinely free elections in Russia's history. That is precisely why I am sure that attempts will be made to disrupt these elections or at least to reduce their political results to zero. This must be prevented, because today only a freely elected and efficiently working parliament can be a guarantee against large-scale coercion as a means of political struggle. This must not be a parliament in the pocket of the executive. It must be a responsible parliament. It must effect in practice the civilized division of the prerogatives of the legislature and the executive and the system of checks and balances without which a modern rule-of-law state cannot exist. I think that the new draft Constitution, the statute on elections, and the contemporary political situation provide good chances for the formation of such a parliament. It will depend on us whether we can take advantage of this chance.

First and foremost we must concern ourselves with making sure that the upcoming elections are as honest and free as possible. We must not seek to obtain unilateral advantages but, on the contrary, seek to ensure that our political opponents have the same campaigning opportunities as those who hold the same political views as we do. The rules of the game should be the same—but, obviously, only for those who are prepared to play an honest game. If we yield to the temptation of momentary political advantage or ultraradical appeals for "democratic" coercion, if we take steps which are incautious or not entirely correct, thus providing grounds for doubting the legitimacy of the formation of the top organs of representative power—we will be placing a mine under the country's future, and sooner or later it will explode into violence and chaos.

The Democratic forces can win—not just the elections, but the cause of the reforms—only on the basis of long-term mutual commitments which must not lose their force even after the elections. Political cooperation, formulated by binding agreements, is the unconditional term of cultural parliamentarism and democracy in general. This is a political expression of moral responsibility to the country. Russia has paid too highly for the deficit of political morality during the past two years.

No Good Seen in Newly Forged Election Alliances

PM2210140193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich report: "Friends, How Strange Your Alliance Is! Election Fraternization Between Political Antagonists"]

[Text] If it is true that marriages are made in heaven, then political ties are forged solely on this sinful earth. Like it or not, party partners have to unite in blocs, movements, and coalitions in order to gain political capital. But even this crafty scheme requires them to observe at least the minimum proprieties.

Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement [RCDM], has solemnly announced the Christian Democrats' election alliance with Yuriy Vlasov and Valeriy Zorkin. According to him, the latter seem to have agreed to head the RCDM electoral list. One wonders: What link is there between the leader of the Christian Democrats, who was recently close to the fathers of the National Salvation Front, and the former Constitutional Court chairman? And what links them both to a patriot writer? As far as I can recall, the centrist Zorkin has never, not even in church, fraternized with the Christian Democrats who are extremely opposed to the president, and that frenzied denouncer of the regime, Yuriy Vlasov, does not previously seem to have had any respect for the Constitutional Court chairman's peacemaking activity. And here we have the "three men in a boat," not counting the astounded voter. But he—the voter—is the most important one there. It is as if we are hearing the call: "Followers of Vlasov, admirers of Zorkin, champions of Aksyuchits, unite!" And that is how the broad varied electorate is won.

Although, according to the Constitutional Court Press Service, Valeriy Zorkin ultimately did not stand for the State Duma and ostensibly has no intention of continuing his political activity—the very fact that he has received five offers from very diverse, sometimes politically opposed parties is bound to be puzzling.

There is another election lineup—this time under the Democratic Party of Russia banner: Oleg Bogomolov, Stanislav Govorukhin, and Nikolay Travkin. What, you would have thought, does the respectable Academician Bogomolov, a man of moderate views, have in common with Travkin, who has had more allies than he has had hot dinners? What do they have in common with Govorukhin and his nostalgia for the Romanovs' "Russia that we have lost" and his conviction regarding the criminal nature of the current authorities? But evidently in both cases it is a question of pooling efforts and "winning over" voters, known to be of different political predilections, to their parties.

The hastiness of the election contracts being concluded between politicians not hitherto noted for having the slightest mutual sympathy simply brings deadlock. Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha added his name as an embellishment to the Agrarian Party's electoral list. This party is the vanguard of the election bloc that comprises the Agrarian Union led by Vasiliy Starodubtsev. The deputy head of the government will probably now tell the State Committee for the State of Emergency defendant how they should act together as they prepare, to use Starodubtsev's expression, "for the Federal Assembly elections that have been foisted on the country."

Sergey Shakhray's sudden political affection for Ramazan Abdulatipov seems equally strange. In alliance with Sergey Stankevich and Aleksandr Shokhin they both created the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA], which has all but been described as conservative. The introductory meetings organized in Nizhniy Novgorod attended by the regional elite, primarily in the

shape of the old nomenklatura, were more than successful: Viktor Chernomyrdin and Oleg Soskovets have already announced their consent to stand for the State Duma with PRUA backing.

There is another alliance: The Union of Veterans of Afghanistan has taken up with the Union of Merchants and Industrialists. With the participation of the unknown People's Patriotic Party and the equally unknown Association of Cossacks, the "Afghans" and the "merchants" have created the election "Alliance of Patriots of Russia," thus winning the favor of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who called the meeting of this bloc's participants a "serious forum of serious people."

Political pragmatism is normal. In order to achieve their goals leaders often have to waive some of their principles. But the election alliances between antagonists that are now being seen or, to put it mildly, politicians who are not that close to one another, confuse even the Russian voter who is accustomed to everything.

"You will like it when you get used to it"? Or perhaps it is like this: "Wait and see 12 December"? No, no good will come of this kind of "alliance." We already know how the Yeltsin-Rutskoy election alliance ended after two years.

Constitutional Court Issues

Conference's State Chamber Meeting Postponed

LD2210204093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1124 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The meeting of the State Chamber of Russia's Constitutional Conference scheduled for Friday [22 October] has been put off. One of the State Chamber coordinators, Boris Zolotukhin, declined to give Interfax the reasons for the postponement.

The other coordinator, Aleksandr Yakovlev, is currently abroad.

A spokesman for the president's office told Interfax only the president was authorized to call State Chamber meetings, but declined to answer whether the next State Chamber meeting would be preceded by a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference.

Under a presidential decree of October 11, the State Chamber is to include two representatives from each constituent part of the Russian Federation, representatives from the president and government, and members of a working group of the Constitutional Commission.

President To Appoint Prime Minister With Duma Accord

LD2210215893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The working group of the Constitutional Conference has ended a meeting in Moscow by finalizing the power sharing formula of Russia's new constitution, Kremlin Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov told reporters on Friday [22 October]. He said the President will now be able to appoint the prime minister upon agreement with the State Duma which, Filatov emphasized, "simplifies" the procedure for dissolving the parliament.

This is seen as a departure from the previous formula, under which the head of state was entitled to submit his candidate for prime minister for parliamentary approval.

Filatov said the term of "sovereignty" applied to the Russian Federation and its constituent parts was also deleted from the new draft because of the "unpredictable consequences" this might cause if retained.

He said that under the new formula, republics and regions were granted the same status in their relations with the center.

Public Chamber Against Draft Constitution Compromise

LD2310180193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1606 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila yermakova]

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—The second meeting of the Constitutional Conference's Public chamber continued in Kremlin today to discuss the draft Russian Constitution. The Chamber unites representatives of Russian parties, public movements and religion, as well as businessmen.

The meeting analyses proposals to introduce changes in the draft constitution approved by the Constitutional conference on July 12, Chamber Coordinator Anatoliy Sobchak told ITAR-TASS.

"We suggest to abandon compromise wordings the Constitutional Conference had to agree with due to demands of the parliament and some regions," he stressed.

In the opinion of Sobchak, four sets of problems—the Russian federal structure; correlation of federal power structures "president-government-parliament"; local government in connection with the abolition of local councils of peoples' deputies and the place of justice, including the Constitutional Court, in the system of authorities—shall be given major attention.

Some 50 essential proposals have been prepared in this respect by the Constitutional Conference's working groups, including a group of Sergey Alekseyev, an author of the presidential draft of the new constitution, and the working group of the Constitutional Commission set up by the president.

All of them will be discussed before October 30, said the chamber coordinator.

To Sobchak's mind, all members of the Constitutional Conference must voice their opinion on the draft fundamental law and recommend the president certain changes in the draft. After the introduction of amendments, the draft shall be put on referendum to avoid "pronouncements of political opponents claiming the president offers the people his own draft," he said.

Today the Chamber also plans to elaborate recommendations on elections of the Federal Assembly and the referendum and submit them to the president.

Media Issues

PRAVDA Staff Asks Yeltsin To Let Paper Retain Name

PM2210104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Inga Prelovskaya report: "Still Unclear When PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Will Return"]

[Text] According to Aleksandr Ilin, acting chief editor of PRAVDA, the collective is getting ready for a meeting to finally decide where it stands on issues relating to the leadership of the newspaper and its policy. Most PRAVDA workers are concerned about the demand that the newspaper change its name, since this directly relates to its image in readers' eyes. The collective has written to the president on this subject.

Aleksandr Yakovenko, first deputy chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, has reported that the editorial office is suing the Ministry of the Press and Information in the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Court for having fired Chief Editor V. Chikin and his deputy Yu. Nikolayev. The hearing is scheduled for 25 October. The courts have not yet accepted the suit, which contends that the suspension of the newspaper was illegal. The editorial office has appealed to the Russian general prosecutor on these issues and twice to the Ministry of the Press and Information following the lifting of the state of emergency in Moscow. The editorial office has not yet received a reply.

Poltoranin Cleared of Charges, To Sue Officials

LD2210105893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0904 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—Mikhail Poltoranin, a faithful supporter of President Boris Yeltsin and head of the Federal Information Centre, has been cleared of charges advanced against him by former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy. The Russian prosecutor's office said it had found no corpus delicti in his actions.

Poltoranin was accused by Rutskoy and other leaders of the hard-line October rebellion in Moscow of exceeding his powers when transferring the former Soviet cultural centre in Berlin to Russia.

Poltoranin said he did not "intend to take vengeance on anybody for the insults he had suffered, or to do short work of the defeated leaders of the October revolt. However, Valentin Stepankov (former procurator-general) and Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, who were involved in this political baiting, will have to answer for their moral indecency," Poltoranin said, evidently meaning he would sue the two.

TV To Give Air Time to Political Party Broadcasts

LD2310152593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In the present difficult conditions the success of an election campaign can in many ways be determined by the mass media. According to Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company [ATRC], Russia's television management bases its activities on the normative documents which stipulate that all political associations participating in the election campaign should have equal access to television and radio air time. The representatives of these organizations will have the opportunity to outline their positions in the morning hours between 0725 and 0825 and in the evening between 1845 and 1945.

At the same time, the order in which the parties and blocs will be introducing themselves will be established by the Central Electoral Commission. The Russian Television and Radio Company has already asked the ATRC to draw up appropriate documents and has invited its observers to the studios.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Addresses Ceremony in Yaroslavl

LD2310102093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nelli Grigoryan, Oleg Velichko and Gennadiy Talalaev]

[Text] Yaroslavl October 23 TASS—President Yeltsin spoke today at the ceremony of opening a monument to Yaroslav the Wise in the city of Yaroslavl.

It is deeply symbolic that the monument is being opened at this difficult time. "The monument is important not only as a symbol showing that we remember our great compatriot. There is one more meaning to this event: We can learn a great deal from Yaroslav the Wise and from other outstanding Russian reformers. The more often we draw on their invaluable experience, the less mistakes we shall make, the more quickly we shall overcome our current difficulties," the president said.

"When analysing the developments of long past, we saw by ourselves on more than one occasion that Russia has

invariably managed to overcome all the hardships and misfortune that came her way. I am sure the nation, that produced Yaroslav the Wise, will overcome the current ones too," President Yeltsin said.

Further on Yeltsin Address

LD2310135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1241 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nelliy Grigoryan, Oleg Velichko and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Yaroslavl October 23 TASS—President Yeltsin has described the opening of the monument to Yaroslav the Wise as a tribute of profound respect for that prominent statesman of old Russia.

Speaking here today at the opening ceremony, he said: "About nine centuries have passed since the times of Yaroslav the Wise, but the talent, courage and farsightedness of our great compatriot are not losing their significance. On the contrary, we come to realise more and more keenly the true grandeur of his deeds, their impportance not only for his compatriots, but also for the descendants—for us and those who will come after us."

Yaroslav the Wise, the president continued, lived at a time, when rus (Russia) was a single east Slavonic entity. Later the fraternal Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nations developed from it. "Much of that old period of our history cannot be divided. This is our common heritage, our common historic roots. There is vital force in it, the envigorating source of today's cooperation of the three fraternal nations," he said.

The lesson of those times, which was confirmed on more than one occasion in later epochs, "consists in the fact that treachery and meanness cannot be justified by whatever, even noble goals. Yaroslav was often forced to wage wars with his rivals, but his performance as a statesman proved vividly that the state can really be strengthened by means of peace, kindness and justice."

"Yaroslav the Wise as a statesman had one more trait, which is especially valuable to us today. He went down in history as the one who brought the Russian lands together. Each land was dear to him, no matter whether it was situated in the south or north, west or east. He was really the grand duke of all Russia, who understood very well the vital importance of the unity and integrity of the state. Today, standing in front of the monument to Yaroslav the Wise, I should like to express most profound respect for our ancestor of long past for his noble deeds."

The president described as deeply symbolic the fact that the monument has been opened in such a difficult time. "It is important not only as a symbol, showing our respect for our great compatriot. This even has one more meaning. We can learn a great deal from Yaroslav the Wise and other outstanding Russian reformers. The more often we draw on their invaluable experience, the less mistakes we shall make and the quicker we shall overcome our current difficulties," Yeltsin said.

"When analysing our past, we saw for ourselves on more than one occasion that Russia has invariably overcome all the hardships and misfortune that came her way. I am sure the nation, that produced Yaroslav the Wise, will overcome the current ones too."

The monument was sanctified by Yuvenaly, metropolitan of Krutitsiy and Kolomna. He read a message of Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Aleksiy II, who could not come to Yaroslavl because of health problems.

Anatoly Lisitsin, head of the administration of the Yaroslavl region, also spoke at the ceremony.

Yeltsin in Yaroslavl, Looks Forward to Elections

LD2310110493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Nelliy Grigoryan, Oleg Velichko and Fennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Yaroslavl, 23 Oct—In his conversation with journalists, which took place after the opening ceremony of the monument to Yaroslav the Wise, President Yeltsin expressed the hope that the future parliament will be more intellectual and cultivated. I have reasons for such hope, judging from the caliber of candidates being nominated, he said.

Boris Yeltsin expressed satisfaction that there is no more senseless fighting now, which had been going on between the executive and legislative powers. The government and the president can now focus their attention on the management of Russia, he stated.

Answering the question on the possible outcome of elections to the Federal Assembly, the president said briefly: There will be a struggle.

Yeltsin Concludes Working Visit to Yaroslavl

LD2310140393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1350 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nelli Grigoryan, Oleg Velichko, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Yaroslavl, 23 Oct—Russian President Boris Yeltsin left Yaroslavl this afternoon where he attended the opening of the monument to Yaroslavl the Wise. He also held a meeting with the heads of administration of Russian central regions. Boris Yeltsin made a tour of the city and acquainted himself with the construction of family cottages.

Oblast Soviets Discuss Reforming, Disbanding

Tomsk Oblast Soviet 'Collapses'

PM2210154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Chernykh under the general heading "Common Sense Prevails": "Soviet Collapses"]

[Text] Tomsk—The Tomsk Oblast Soviet has ceased to exist. Oblast administration chief V. Kress signed a decree terminating its activities. But it was not an arbitrary decision. The soviet simply collapsed.

Heated debates were still going on and plans were being made for work on the elections for the new representative body as the "bricks" tumbled from the deputies' building. One after the other the people's elected representatives announced that they were relinquishing their powers. In the end the inner soviet was unable to operate, and then the total number of deputies fell to less than two-thirds of the required figure.

It merely remained for former chairman G. Shamin to state the fact and announce that the soviet no longer existed. All its functions and powers passed to the oblast administration.

The workload of the executive authority and its chief has increased, so an oblast administration collegium is being set up.

Nizhniy Novgorod Soviet Declines To Disband

PM2210161193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Andrey Shishov under the "Common Sense Prevails" rubric: "In No Hurry To Relinquish Their Powers"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod—Nizhniy Novgorod City Soviet people's deputies have refused to voluntarily relinquish their people's deputyships and have sent their own proposals to Moscow, saying, in particular, that it would be a better idea to set up a 27-30-deputy City Duma in Nizhniy Novgorod, with the majority of them working om a permanent basis.

Their senior colleagues from the oblast soviet will consider the question of the existence of that organ of authority at a major session, although it is already known that some deputies intend to vote against the soviet's disbanding and will wait for a special presidential edict on the subject.

In any event soviet chairman Yevgeniy Krestyaninov and governor Boris Nemtsov are devising a job-finding program for oblast soviet personnel and also for the staffs of rayon and city soviets which have already ceased to exist.

Nizhnevartovsk Soviet Refuses To Disband

LD2210195893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] A session of the Nizhnevartovsk [western Siberia] town soviet has refused to disband itself. Deputies decided to stay in office until elections to the State Duma. At the same time, Vladimir Tikhonov, chairman of the town soviet, tendered his resignation, which was accepted, but a new chairman was not elected as none of the candidates nominated managed to gain a majority, RIA reports.

Tver Oblast Soviet Refuses To Disband

LD2210235393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1636 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tver (Central Russia), 22 Oct—A session of the Tverskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies today decided that its inner soviet would retain its powers, executive and distributive excepted, until a new oblast legislature is elected.

One of the items on the agenda was "compliance with the decree of the Russian president 'On reform of Elected Authorities and Local Government Authorities in the Russian Federation.'" It was decided to hold early elections to a new representative authority for the oblast in February-March of next year. An overwhelming majority of deputies spoke against self-dissolution during the debate, explaining that they will hand over their powers to a new representative body following its election and thus will fully discharge their duties as deputies.

Sakhalin Head Suspends Small Soviet

OW2410225593 Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk Teleradiokompaniya Sakhalin Television Network in Russian 2005 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Address by Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov, head of the Sakhalin Oblast Administration, at a meeting of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk on 16 October; from the "As of This Hour" program—recorded]

[Text] Respected deputies and guests: Time, the measure of history, moves fast. Could I have thought half a year ago, when I was taking my place on the podium of the big session that was held to confirm me in the position of head of the Sakhalin Oblast Administration, that today I would have to say these words to you?

Yes, time is merciless today, but it is also cleansing. We must clearly keep in mind that the blame for the bloody events of 3-4 October in Moscow also lies on you and on us, too. The decision of many organs of representative power in the subjects of the Russian Federation to support the actions of the Russian Supreme Soviet was a precondition for these events. But reality refuted these

decisions. The majority of the people and the Army did not support you. I have often wondered of late about what your convictions were based on, and I came to the conclusion that to some degree you no longer have control over the situation, that you are no longer familiar with the people, and that you continue to promote the psychology of the soviets. You have become accustomed to talking and taking responsibility for nothing. This has become obsolete and, as the latest events have shown, very dangerous.

Your actions have brought you to the verge, and I appeal to you not to cross it. Find the strength in yourselves to leave the oblast's political arena, leave it to new members of parliament, new people, and new trends. As far as yesterday's speech by former Deputy Mikhaylov is concerned, I ask you, Sergey Andreyevich, and I warn everyone not to transfer the events in Moscow to subjects of the federation. We already lived through that on 3-4 October. Do not agitate the people and do not call on them to carry out any unsanctioned or unlawful actions. I must report this information to you. You probably know that former People's Deputy Mikhaylov spoke at the oblast soviet session yesterday. This information has already reached Moscow; naturally, it was transmitted to higher-ups by somebody.

Our task now is the elections. We must elect worthy representatives of Sakhalin Oblast to the Federal Assembly. As you know, one member of the State Duma and two members of the Federation Council will be elected here. Elections will also be held to local organs of representative power. I do not know what they will be called. These questions are being mulled over. It could be a zemstvo assembly or provincial [gubernya] assembly. In principle, the name is not too important, although it would not hurt to return to old Russian names. We must determine what our oblast parliament will be like and its size. We must elect a parliament that will have normal powers and functions concerning issues relating to the Russian Federation Constitution, federal treaties, Russian Federation legislation, and representative organs of subjects of the Federation. It will adopt the corresponding budget and account for its implementation, and it will carry out the control functions of the representative organs.

In connection with the fact that the 11th and 12th sessions [of the oblast soviet] could not muster two-thirds of a quorum—on the second day it was down to half the quorum—and in connection with the fact that the 13th session was not held, I will sign a decree today on the reform of representative power in Sakhalin Oblast on the basis of these events and Point No. 5 of the president's 21 September Edict 1617 [shestnadtsat semnadtsat]. I would like to add that the activities of the oblast Small Soviet of People's Deputies will be suspended, sessions and meetings will be canceled, while the status of people's deputies will be preserved.

Before the new oblast representative organ begins its work, all functions of representative power will be carried out by the oblast administration. A commission on drawing up norms will be formed under the oblast administration and will be made up of deputies and workers of the small soviet. The commission will be tasked to some extent to carry out the elections and will complete the draft outline on the local parliament. As I understand it, we have an oblast charter that was approved in its first reading. It needs to be brought up to date with the recommendations that we are expecting from the center soon. A commission on the employment of deputies working permanently and in the apparatus will be set up. I think that this decree should also note that the elections must be set for 12 December.

Thank you for your attention. Despite everything, I would like to say this to the deputies of the oblast soviet who are here and to those who are not here: We tried to find a compromise during the past six months, and I very much regret sometimes that I did not have sufficient arguments and convincing reasons to more or less adopt those documents that would have corresponded to realities.

Yeltsin Decree Confirms Chelyabinsk Leader's Powers

LD2310090093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1747 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin has issued a decree confirming the powers of the Chelyabinsk regional administration head Vadim Solovyev, INTERFAX was told Friday by the spokesman for the president. The decree was adopted due to attempts to bar Solovyev from performing his duties and attempts to create parallel structures to the executive power.

Last April local councils elected a new head of the executive branch thus creating dual authority in the region. The decree orders that Solovyev investigate facts of disobedience to the lawful governor and bring the culprits to justice.

Chelyabinsk Head Views Yeltsin Edict

LD2510120193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0944 GMT 25 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk October 25 TASS—"Despite difficult political relations in the Chelyabinsk region and open opposition from the regional council, the Chelyabinsk regional administration could stabilise the situaton and ensure progress of reforms," administration head Vadim Solovyev said in an interview with ITAR- TASS here on Monday.

He noted that a decree signed by the Russian president late last week, confirming the powers of the administration head, gives the administration a legal basis to complete desovietisation in the region more resolutely.

Solovyev stressed that councils tried to retard privatisation in the Chelyabinsk region which is a leader in Russia in this important sphere of reforms.

"Moreover," he added, "the local regional council supported in every way the former leaders of the Russian parliament during the Moscow putsch. Council top executives in the regional centre and in localities made attempts at grabbing executive power."

Solovyev said that regional administration executives take resolute measures against administration heads in cities and districts as well as industrial managers who voluntarily subordinated themselves to illegal parallel structures.

Along with establishing order at administrative structures, Solovyev noted, "we find jobs for deputies of all levels as well as for staff members of disbanded councils, among whom there are many good specialists".

Republics Oppose Removal of Sovereignty Clause

MK2310113393 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Russian Federation" rubric: "Provision on Republics' Sovereignty Removed From Draft Constitution. Leaders of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan See it as an Attempt To Recreate Russian Empire"]

[Text] Yesterday, speaking on the results of the work done by the Constitutional Conference's working group, Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, said that the term concerning the republics' sovereignty was removed from the draft Constitution, because its retention, in his view, could have lead to "unpredictable consequences." Sergey Filatov's statement may be considered a follow-up to the offensive by Democratic Russia, whose leaders have long disliked the former autonomous republics' independence. It will be recalled that at present virtually all the Russian republics have declared state sovereignty, and two of them—Bashkortostan and Tatarstan—have formalized this provision by republic referendums. The legal foundations on which the provisions on the republics' sovereignty are based are the current Russian Federation Constitution, the republics' own constitutions, and the Federation Treaty. It was learned from sources close to the chief of the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities that the entire text of the Federation Treaty has also disappeared from the draft of the new Constitution. Ignoring the Federation Treaty may seriously jeopardize President Yeltsin's plans to adopt the new Russian Constitution at the December referendum—the population of most republics will perceive the absence of the Federation Treaty and the clause on the sovereignty of the former autonomous republics as nothing less than national humiliation. Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev said in an interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that the republics' sovereignty is not an invention of Sergey Filatov or the participants in the Constitutional Conference from Moscow, but the choice of the republics' peoples. He recalled that it is republics that form the Russian Federation. According to Mintimer Shaymiyev, if the principle of the republics' sovereignty is ignored, this will be not the Russian Federation, but a Russian empire or a Russian monarchy.

Commenting on Sergey Filatov's statement, Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaza Rakhimov agreed with his Tatar counterpart. He also believes that the republics' sovereignty is the expression of popular will, and not the wish of bureaucrats from Moscow. "Now is not the time when the Kremlin could dictate to the peoples of the regions how they must live," Murtaza Rakhimov said. According to him, no Moscow officials will be able to deprive Bashkortostan of the level of sovereignty it presently has. Murtaza Rakhimov is certain that Sergey Filatov is not the highest official, and that sensible politicians among Russian leaders will give a realistic assessment of this draft Constitution. The Bashkortostan leader is confident that if this draft Constitution is submitted to a popular vote, none of the republic's citizens will turn out for the referendum. "I cannot understand what Sergey Filatov's job is: Is he chief of the presidential administration in charge of technical matters, or Russia's key politician who is above even Boris Yeltsin?" Murtaza Rakhimov wondered. In the view of the Bashkortostan leader, the definitive decision on the draft Constitution should be made by the president himself, not by his chief of administration. "I fail to understand whether Sergey Filatov really wants to create a Russian empire," the Bashkir leader said. He recalled that even in the Russian empire the Bashkirs had a certain degree of autonomy, but presently, in his words, no return to the old times is possible. When asked by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA whether he sees this statement with regard to the new draft of the Russian Constitution as a new round of electoral battles in the Moscow echelons of power, he said: "We will support only movements that stand for real federalism and the equality of the Federation components while maintaining the state's unity." In Murtaza Rakhimov's view, the Russian people know for themselves with which peoples they are bound to live and have always shown respect for the indigenous peoples of this country. According to the Bashkir leader, "such provocations may bring about the collapse of the Russian Federation, for instance, the creation of a Ural-Volga Republic on the territory of the Urals and the Volga Regions, an idea formerly rejected by leaders of Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, and Udmurtia.

Ivan Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, was brief in his comments on Sergey Filatov's statement: "This is simply nonsense." In Ivan Aleksandrov's view, Filatov's statement amounts to the continuation of what was started on 21 September. The first deputy chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet does not rule out that it is the "Russia's Choice" bloc

that stands behind all this, a bloc which is confident in its future victory and imposes its terms on the federal executive authorities.

Buryatia Working on Implementing New Constitution

LD2310172393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0356 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 23 Oct—The Russian president's decree on stage by stage constitutional reform has stimulated work in Buryatia on the new main law of the republic. By today four draft constitutions have already been submitted to the Constitutional Commission. How is the future of the state structure of Buryatia seen?

Three different intiative groups are in favor of declaring a parliamentary republic. According to the authors of two of the drafts, the supreme representative legislative body of Buraytia should consist of two chambers. It is interesting that all the drafters recognize that the future parliament should be professional and comprise 40-60 deputies working on a permament basis. At the same time, there is also a draft which envisages a presidential republic. The authors believe that this will make it possible to logically enter the state structure of Russia and avoid confrontation between the representative and executive bodies of power.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Constitutional Commission of the Buryat Supreme Soviet that the draft documents have much in common. As for the cardinal discrepancy about the future state structure, the local referendum on a presidency for Buryatia to be held on 12 December will give the answer to this.

Tough Workload Faces Regional Election Organizers

PM2210152993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Tough Schedule—It Must Be Met"]

[Text] The chairmen of district electoral commissions in Russian krays and oblasts were approved on 20 October at a public session of the Central Electoral Commission for the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Elections. Each leader was approved individually.

As Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said, they will "bear the main burden of responsbility in the election campaign and they will have an enormous workload, since it is only around six weeks to the elections." Wishing his colleagues well, he recommended that they work in close collaboration with the administrations and soviets where they are functioning.

"All efforts must be geared to creating the best possible conditions for the preparation of the 12 December elections," Nikolay Ryabov stressed. "The polling places will have to be set up [sozdany] no later than 2 November and the commissions have to be formed."

Some 170 billion rubles have been allocated for the election campaign from the state budget—the Central Electoral Commission suggested that this would not be enough for the entire campaign. It is not inconceivable that the Russian Federation president will have to be asked to provide extra funds.

Vologda Election Campaign Begins; Deputy Head Dismissed

PM2210155793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Viktor Filippov report: "Vologda Governor Pursuing Dual Policy"]

[Text] Vologda—The election campaign in the Vologda area has begun with a furor, the consequences of which could influence the result of the 12 December election in the most unexpected way.

Oblast Administration Head Nikolay Podgornov has abruptly dismissed his first deputy, Vladimir Lopatin, who had held the post for just five weeks. In response Vladimir Lopatin has published an article entitled "The Story Behind Why I Stepped Down" in the Vologda newspaper RUSSKIY SEVER [The Russian North]; the article makes it clear that the oblast head is putting his personal interests above the interests of the case. Lopatin then states his willingness to stand as a Federation Council deputy.

Anatomy of a Furor

Nikolay Podgornov personally invited Vladimir Lopatin to serve as his deputy, and business circles regarded this as a happy choice. Formerly a USSR people's deputy and then deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Cooperation with the Ministry of Defense, Lopatin had preserved his extensive connections in the topmost circles of federal power and was able (as Vologda's leaders had hoped) to represent the region successfully in the Russian Federation.

Lopatin explains his unexpected dismissal by saying that the head of the oblast administration saw him as a competitor and was afraid for his job. Podgornov, despite journalists' attempts to elicit information about this at a news conference, publicly denied this version of events. And it would be possible to ignore this story were it not for the events surrounding it.

On 27 September, three days prior to Lopatin's dismissal, the administration head had been campaigning at an oblast soviet session for deputies to adopt a ruling that the local authorities should disregard the president's notorious Edict No. 1400 as well as the decrees issued by the Supreme Soviet in response to it.

This looks like a strange action to take for an administration head who was appointed to his post by the president and has hitherto declared his loyalty to the president's policy. But let us go back even further, back to the spring when in May the oblast session declared the Vologda area to have the same constitutional rights as a sovereign republic. Alarmed by this display of separatism, Boris Yeltsin requested the deputies to review their decision. But the inner soviet did not heed this request. Nikolay Podgornov came out in support of the inner soviet, persuading all his opponents that oblast sovereignty would help Vologda's inhabitants to resolve their economic problems.

Following the suppression of Khasbulatov's rebellion, Nikolay Podgornov took it on himself to display increased loyalty to the president. He suspended the oblast soviet and Vologda City Soviet. This hasty decision, particularly with regard to the city soviet, provoked bewilderment even among those of an overt anti-Soviet persuasion. The fact is that back at the end of September a Vologda City Soviet session had supported the Russian president's actions and adopted his Edict No. 1400 for implementation. Oblast Prosecutor Leonid Kozlov ruled Nikolay Podgornov's decrees illegal and contested them, and the oblast and city soviet leaders went to court over the issue.

Possible Consequences of the Furor

Parties and movements in the Vologda area, including those of a democratic stripe, are too weak to "mobilize" their candidates in the short space of time before the elections. For example, Democratic Russia has only 200 members, and the Movement for Democratic Reforms has only three activists at the present time. These circumstances have made victory easier to achieve for politicians who have had a high profile for a long time, i.e. the politicians already in power, because in the provinces popularity depends on one's position.

Regarding the elections, this means that the authorities' support for some of the candidates (these candidates have already been decided on, and they include Vasiliy Kovalev, first deputy head of the oblast administration) will backfire on them and prove to be a king-size gift for the opposition. And since the Vologda authorities are making too much of an effort to express their loyalty to the Russian president, it cannot be ruled out that the new parliament will also contain representatives from this region for whom the opinion of their faction is more important than that of the people. Zhirinovskiy's smart "hawks" have already opened a subscription office in Vologda and are campaigning hard for their list. A candidate for the State Duma whose support comes from Communist cells has declared himself in Cherepovets. The agrogenerals from the Peasants' Union are preparing their candidacies.

We can only hope for one thing: That the voters will show some common sense.

Roundup of Regional Preparations for Elections

LD2210170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1118 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The formation of district commissions for elections to the Federal Assembly is all but completed in Russia. They have been set up in all the subjects of the federation, except the Chechen Republic. The Central Election Commission has endorsed their chairmen. They are mostly highly skilled practicing lawyers, who are charged with the task of setting up local election commissions in the republics, territories, regions, and autonomous districts. There will be more than 100,000 such commissions. The work is to be completed before November 2.

A campaign to collect voters' signatures in support of their nominees has been launched by political parties in keeping with the rules governing elections to the Council of the Federation and the State Duma.

Candidates are being nominated in all the regions of the country. Vigorous preparations for the elections are under way in the Russian far east. The Kamchatka mass media have already published several announcements on the collection of signatures in support of this or that candidate. The journalists are very active, too. TV commentator Aivars Lezsdinsh and TV journalist Aleksandr Smyshlyayev have already obtained the first signatures of their supporters. Two members of the regional council have also launched the collection of signatures in their favour. The "Kamchatka Option" bloc of democratic parties and movements will back Sergey Sharov, president of the Union of Kamchatka Businessmen and Vladimir Veikhman, head of the local "Memorial" Society, during the elections to the State Duma, and Igor Sidorchyuk, presidential representative in the region—during the elections to the Council of the Federation.

Following the nomination of Sakhalin Governor Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov to the Federal Assembly, the local voters have also nominated to this body Viktor Averin, president of the Federation of Sakhalin Companies and Associations, Anatoliy Aksyonov, former chairman of the regional council, and Sergey Ponomayov, former council member. They were nominated by the federation. Former member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ivan Zhdakayev and ex-Governor Valentin Fedorov also plan to run for the elections.

The election campaign in Khabarovsk territory is marked by inter- party conflicts. Two "Russia's Option" blocs were formed there—one by radically-minded representatives of the Democratic Reforms Movement, and the second—by the fund in support of the president, which includes representatives from the trade unions and the Democratic Party of Russia. Both blocs have already nominated their candidates. However, the voters are in doubt whether they should

cast their ballots for representatives of the parties that are unable to find a common language.

The regional Voters' Club has joined the campaign in Birobidjan, the Jewish autonomous region in the Russian far east. Most members of this club adhere to the socialist and communist ideology. Vladimir Ulanov, activist of the local branch of the Socialist Party of Workers and deputy director of the "Nadezhda" privatised garment- making society, has been nominated to the lower house of the parliament. "He will be backed by the regional organisation of the Communist Party of Russia," ITAR-TASS was told by its Chairman Nikolay Cheremisin. This party may join the election race in one bloc with the socialists. The Voters' Club, analysts believe, will be a serious rival to the local "Russia's Option" bloc.

Other Regions Prepare

LD2210220293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—The election campaign is underway in Russia. District electoral commissions are being formed, boundaries of electoral districts and lists of voters are being specified, candidates are being nominated.

The Belgorod Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs has nominated six candidates for deputies of the Russian State Duma. They include Deputy Head of the Regional Council Valentin Kudryavtsev, General Director of the Belgorod metal construction plant Boris Pochupailo and head of the Gubkin City Council Oleg Polukhin.

The union has also nominated candidates for deputies of the Federation Council—head of the Stary Oskol town administration Ivan Gusarov, Pro-Rector of the Belgorod Technological Institute of Construction Materials Aleksandr Sladkov and ex-head of the regional administration Viktor Berestovoy.

Head of the Samara regional administration Konstantin Titov, ex- Chairman of the Togliattiy City Council Vladimir Zhukov, businessman Vitaliy Belousov and ex-head of the regional council's Ecology Committee Vladimir Yemelyanov have suggested their candidatures for nomination in Samara. A number of parties and movements of the Samara region are ready to publish lists of their candidates on Monday, October 25.

Voronezh has not formed district electoral commissions, but local organizations of the Russian Democratic and Republican Parties, the Choice of Russia and Transformation of Russia blocs, other parties and movements have started the collection of signatures and making of electors' lists. The collection of signatures is spontaneous, people are not in a hurry to sign.

Ex-Soviet People's Deputy Aleksandr Obolenskiy held a news conference in Orel to officially announce his nomination candidate to the State Duma. The candidate will have to raise some 7,500 signatures of electors to be registered by the Electoral Commission.

The Novosibirsk divisions of the Civic Union and the People's Party of Free Russia have announced the collection of signatures in support of Vasiliy Lipitskiy, their candidate for deputy of the State Duma. Head of the local division of the People's Party of Free Russia Dmitriy Puchkin told a news conference here today the candidate has agreed to be on the ballot sheet in the local Zayeltsovskiy electoral district.

The Women's Council of the Kaluga region is very active. The council's presidium has decided to nominate Obninsk Vice-Mayor Raisa Skripitsina and head of the regional property fund's department, candidate of economic sciences Tatyana Rozanova candidates for deputies of the Russian State Duma in the Dzerzhinskiy electoral district. Both women are known as good specialists and sympathetic people.

International Affairs

Official Says U.S. Stance on Chernobyl 'Unfair Game'

LD2310195393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The U.S. State Department's statement expressing concern about the Ukrainian parliament's decision to continue operating the Chernobyl nuclear power plant is an unfair game, Vice-Chairman of Ukraine's State Atomic Energy Committee Nur Nigmatulin told Interfax-Ukraine.

The U.S. administration is using Chernobyl as a danger symbol, expressing no concern about the operation of the St. Petersburg, Smolensk, Kursk and other Russian nuclear power plans based on the Chernobyl-type reactors, he said.

He also noted that Ukraine was not planning to reconstruct the Chernobyl nuclear power plant for extending its service life, the way other nuclear-power plants are treated.

He also described the Ukrainian parliament's decision to continue to operate the Chernobyl nuclear power plant as "correct in a situation whereby the shortage of fuel may increase to 25 percent-27 percent in the winter of 1993 and the republic may become faced with an energy catastrophe".

He expressed hope that the U.S. State Department's position would not affect cooperation between American and Ukrainian experts in nuclear power engineering and said that so far, the U.S. had not invested a single dollar in the development of Ukrainian atomic energy.

The decision on the operating the Chernobyl nuclear-power plant was taken on October 21. Earlier, the Ukrainian parliament had decided not to operate it until the end of the year. The Ukrainian parliament has also lifted the moratorium on putting energy units on the Zaporozhye, Khmelnitskiy and Rovno nuclear power plants into service.

Says U.S. Reaction Based on Emotions

LD2310225193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Speaking to a UKRINFORM corespondent on Saturday 23 October, Nur Nigmatulin, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Power Utilization, said the U.S. State Department's statement of 22 October expressing the United States' concern over the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada's [parliament's] decision to lift the ban imposed on the Chernobyl nuclear power plant's further functioning had been prompted by largely emotional rather than rational reasons, and thus tended to excessively dramatize the situation. He added that Ukraine, facing mounting economic problems, and the incessantly deteriorating fuel and power situation, could not afford the luxury of stopping its two power generating units.

The committee man further insisted that the Chernobyl nuke [as heard] was managed in a way that was in perfect harmony with most stringent international standard requirements, with no allowance whatsoever for the nuke's special status since its nuclear disaster.

Secretary Christopher Arrives on Visit

LD2410170193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1623 GMT 24 Oct 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 24 Oct—U.S. Secretary of state Warren Christopher arrived today in the capital of Ukraine on an official visit. The guest was met at Borispol Airport by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Oleg Belorus, Ukraine's ambassador in the United States, and other officials. U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Miller was among those present.

Tomorrow Warren Christopher will hold talks with Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council, and his counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko. Joint documents will also be signed, and then there will be a news conference by Warren Christopher and Anatoliy Zlenko.

The U.S. secretary of state will leave for Minsk on 26 October.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit

Signs Accords With Zlenko

LD2210182893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam, who arrived in Kiev on an official visit on Thursday 21 October, met with his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko and Transport Minister Orest Klympush. The meeting resulted in signing two bilateral agreements: one providing for visa-free trips of both parties' nationals to the other country, given they possessed diplomatic or service passports; the other on air links between Ukraine and Vietnam. The Vietnamese foreign minister's three-day visit schedules his meetings with Ukraine's president and parliament speaker. He is supposed to take part in the Vietnamese Embassy opening ceremony.

Meets With Kravchuk, Plyushch

LD2310112693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] On 22 October, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received Nguyen Manh Cam, foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, who is on a visit in

Kiev. A range of issues of mutual interest was discussed in the course of a frank and friendly conversation. Special attention was paid to the development and strengthening of traditional bilateral links. The talk also dealt with the need to continue economic contacts. Nguyen Manh Cam passed on the best wishes of the president and prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the president of Ukraine, and an invitation to visit Vietnam. The invitation was received with gratitude.

On the same day, Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, received Nguyen Manh Cam, foreign minister of Vietnam, and had a friendly conversation with him, in the course of which issues of cooperation between the two countries both in the political and in the economic spheres were discussed. On 22 October, members of the delegation from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam met Ukrainian and foreign journalists and replied to their questions.

On the same day, the ceremonial opening of Vietnam's embassy in Kiev took place.

President Kravchuk Arrives in Bonn, Meets Kohl

LD2210232893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2225 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Temnenkov]

[Text] Bonn, 23 Oct—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk arrived in Bonn on the evening of 22 October to take part in an international forum called "The Future of Europe: a Political Program for the 90s," being held at the Petersberg government residence.

On the same day, he met German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Their discussions were held in camera. A member of the Ukrainian delegation told ITAR-TASS that they discussed the development of bilateral relations, general political issues, and also the structure of Europe. [passage omitted]

Plyusch: Parliament May Ratify START I in Late '93

LD2210164493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Meeting with U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Miller, in Kiev on 21 October, Verhovna Rada [Supreme Council] chairman Ivan Plyusch said the parliament could be very likely to ratify the START I Treaty in late 1993, given the MP's got weighty explanations about the mechanism for destruction of the strategic nuclear weapons stationed on Ukraine's territory, ways of compensating for them and clearcut guarantees of Ukraine's national security. [passage omitted] The U.S. ambassador pledged his administration's support for the Ukrainian parliament's efforts to carry out democractic reforms and create a democratic society in Ukraine.

Council Not Scheduled To Debate Treaty

LD2310090293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2049 GMT 22 Oct 03

[Text] Kiev—On 21 October, at the UN General Assembly committee for disarmament and international security, Russian UN Ambassador Yuriy Vorontsov called upon Ukraine and Kazakhstan to join the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty without delay. He emphasized that "friendly Ukraine must ratify START I as soon as possible, otherwise the START II Treaty between Russia and the United States cannot acquire validity." As far as doubts on the part of Ukraine are concerned, in the opinion of the Russian diplomat these should be nonexistent after the Crimean accord on nuclear issues was signed in September by the prime ministers of Ukraine and Russia. However, according to data available to UNIAN, the tentative list of issues to be considered at the sessions of the Supreme Council of Ukraine in November, which was circulated on 22 October, contains no entry for the ratification of the START I Treaty.

Interior Ministry Signs Accord With Turkey

LD2210164693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] A Turkish delegation has been in Ukraine for three days. The purpose of the visit was to reach a consensus and initial an agreement on cooperation between the two countries' internal affairs bodies. The agreement was signed by Balkan Kegeldel, deputy chief of the Foreign Ministry directorate on behalf of the Turkish side, and Bohdan Romanyuk, first deputy chief of the Internal Affairs Ministry's main investigation directorate on behalf of the Ukrainian side. The signing of the agreement was attended by Acar Germen, the Turkish ambassador to Ukraine, Madzhede Erdener, chief of the Turkish Internal Affairs Ministry international relations directorate, and Veniamin Bartashevych, deputy Ukrainian foreign affairs minister.

National Affairs

Nuclear Fuel Disappears From Chernobyl Plant

LD2310135193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Novisti" newscast]

[Text] The Ukrainian national radio has reported that some nuclear fuel has disappeared from the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES]. The republic's security services are finding it difficult to determine when this happened—five days ago or eight years ago. The amount of stolen fuel has not been disclosed. I would like to remind you that the U.S. State Department has expressed concern over the decision of the Ukrainian parliament to revoke its decision to close the Chernobyl AES which it adopted previously.

Supreme Council Convenes Session in Kiev

Kravchuk Addresses Council

LD2210130893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0819 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Speech by President Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk to the Supreme Council in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies: To begin with, I will address the issue of the fundamental principles of national security, the foundations of security. On issues of security, Ukraine should proceed from the fact that it recognizes and supports the principles of international law and UN and CSCE resolutions, and it is committed to the bilateral and multilateral agreements to which it is a party. This is the first fundamental position.

Second, Ukraine views its borders as definitive ones, and has no (?territorial) claims against its neighbors. It respects the sovereignty of other nations and states and renounces the use of force, including the threat of force, in bilateral relations with other countries. In particular, Ukraine wishes to cooperate closely and live in friendship with neighboring states.

Third, we can preserve our economy and stop the destructive processes only by sorting out the work of all governing structures, both in the center and in the provinces, and only in cooperation with the countries of the CIS. We can overcome our backwardness and become a fully fledged member among developed countries only by way of a speedy and efficient entry into the economic and political space of West European integration, and by not breaking but by improving links and relations within the framework of the CIS.

Voluntary isolation in either direction is politically and economically absurd, and dangerous from the point of view of development of (?all) processes of preserving oneself as a nation and state.

Ukraine supports and will continue to support both military potential and the national system of defense at the appropriate level. We should be resolute in defending our sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose any aggression. We have undertaken and have begun to deepen the transformation and reconstruction of our armed forces so as to adapt our defense structure to the demands of a sovereign European state. The armed forces are naturally the basis of our defense system. They should be permanently ready to stop any aggressor.

Next: These great political and economic transformations which are currently occurring in our state are undoubtedly leading to internal threats to the system. These are not military threats. They are political, social, or economic and weaken the state structure and make it more vulnerable to external pressure.

When carrying out policies and ensuring the peaceful development of our state, we should rely on internal consolidatory forces, on centrist forces. We should count on those forces that are already positively noted in our society. We should use only official state structures to defend our internal and external security. Any other structures, paramilitary or otherwise, do not have the right to take part in defending our state. I stress, they do not have the right, because in any difficult situation they will not be formed or introduced into law, because they can act outside the constitution and outside the law—something fraught with danger.

The effects of the destruction of the former system of organizing the economy—the inevitable social losses during the transformation to a market economy could have been less painful had we avoided unpleasant mistakes at the very beginning, both in management and in methodology—are understandably causing an increase in disillusionment, anarchy, and migration which has already started, crime, and other pathological factors. We must take account of this in our work. The best way of overcoming all these processes which are difficult for our state, besides our joint harmonious work, is to exert all efforts to reduce the duration of this period. The success of the transformations will therefore depend, to a great extent, on the effective completion of the processes of privatization, on economic as well as political reforms that should be aimed at transformation to a free economy, at the efficient governing of the state, and the functioning of all lawful institutions.

It is clear that discussion of this issue in Ukraine's higher legislative body, and these current discussions have continued for three days and have highlighted extremely important problems. I will not dwell on them because you have heard them yourself and I hope that in their speeches people's deputies will develop the theses that were expressed in the speeches. But I am convinced that the Supreme Council will elaborate the lawful principles, doctrines, programs, and strategy of defending the national interests in all spheres of social life on the basis of the present decisions that are already being adopted and which will be adopted.

Apart from that, as can be seen from the speeches by members of the government, people's deputies, and chairmen of commissions, negative tendencies in Ukraine's socioeconomic and political development continue to operate, at a time when positive changes have not acquired new qualities and have not become widespread. Therefore, apart from strategies, we are forced to use immediate measures in all spheres of our social life. Above all, we must determine what content we ascribe to the concept of national security. In my opinion, we are talking about protecting citizens' vitally important interests, the interests of society and the state against internal and foreign threats that is an indispensable condition for preserving and multiplying spiritual and material values. Proceeding from such an understanding, the president and the government are acting and intend to continue to act to create a reliable system of guarantees for the free development of Ukraine. I immediately want to mention that in this difficult time of economic crisis some of our interpretations, our

statements, and our intentions today are not sufficiently convincing. However, we cannot but consider the fact that time will have an influence and that such a state of life in Ukraine should not be protracted. We must use such measures to stop these processes. National security is a comprehensive issue. It will be built in order to implement a single state policy which is an agreed, coordinated, and balanced system of measures that are appropriate to the threats to the state's national security.

I would consider that the main directions or policies at the present moment are the following:

First, consistently and with consideration to reform economic relations. Second, to achieve national accord and political stability; to carry out measures for the population's social security; to halt those processes in the localities that are destabilizing the situation; to adopt tough and concrete measures in the fight against corruption and crime, and to search for the optimal form of cooperation with near and far states abroad.

The subject of this discussion is exceptionally large, all embracing and complex. I will therefore only dwell on some of them. I stress, on the principally important aspects of this problem.

The domestic policy aspects of security are these: The issue of national security viewed from general policy positions; the results of selecting a strategy to reform Ukrainian society are of utter importance. We have at least three strategic alternatives:

The first is for the social system to retain arbitrary and bureaucratic methods but now within the borders of our new Ukrainian state, rather than within those of the former Union. It can be said at once—and I agree with deputies' speeches, with the overwhelming majority of whom said—that this path lacks prospects and that we cannot embark on this path.

The second alternative is to plunge into market elements as if into an abyss, with our eyes shut, which in a way is a kind of liberal approach, total liberalization. It is rooted both in thoughtlessly following western models of development and traditions, to which we have already grown accustomed, which are either extreme right or extreme left and which for decades were characteristic of our people and our approaches. Such a path, which I would call westernization, is equally destructive to us, not to mention that even the west itself has rejected the extreme forms of liberalism. The mentality of our people, who for several generations were brought up under the conditions of totalitarian collectivism, will not allow us to implement the idea successfully if we throw ourselves thoughtlessly, I would like to emphasize, into market elements. Supporters of radical liberalism sometimes say that in order to cure a society that is ill, no heed should be taken of the pain that is inflicted. There is a limit, however, beyond which a patient will simply not stand the pain. Is it clear that there can be no talk of national security under these conditions.

Our view is that we will find the right approach to reforms once we have been able to combine Ukraine's specific historical conditions and the most promising tendencies of the world's social progress. In other words, it is about a strategy of reforms, based on an integrational concept of the development of Ukraine. We have to find a Ukrainian model, which is the most complex problem being worked on today by the government, by the president, and by groups of people, set up by us to prepare appropriate proposals. It is not about copying the capitalism of the 20th Century. We are too late for that, now and forever. It is about searching for ways to lead Ukraine out of the economic crisis, taking account of Ukraine's own characteristics and history.

All western politicians with whom I have been in touch recently say unanimously that we have to find a Ukrainian model. A mechanical transfer of their experience to Ukraine is dangerous and even they understand that. That, however, has not yet been understood by all of us.

Implementing this integrational strategy must be based on taking sober account of objective conditions and subjective factors that will allow us to ensure our state's national security. It is our opinion that political preconditions exist for this path to be chosen in our country.

With the adoption of the decision on new, early parliamentary and presidential elections you have opened the way for a system of power to be created which will be legitimate to a greater extent. Credit must be given for this to the current Supreme Council. Now, the next steps have to be taken, which are the adoption of a well considered electoral law and the determination of our position on the new constitution, if not entirely then at least on issues of the state's general power structures.

As for the electoral law, the interests of national security require us to opt for a mixed electoral system. Preference, however, must be given to its majority component. If opinion polls and the signs of anxiety that are directed toeward the president are to be trusted—I do not wish to insult anyone—the people fear that if we choose party lists, many of those leaders who today are stirring up the Supreme Council will once again find their way into the Supreme Council.

I would like to emphasize that this is what is being written to me both by miners and steelworkers and all those who are analyzing the situation, because the people have fears and want the Supreme Council to work and adopt laws. This is it, and they do not want anything else. That is why an appropriate system has to be introduced.

One can assess these facts differently but we cannot disregard them. We cannot discount the interests of the people who are the citizens wishing the elections to be held by the people and with the participation of all the people and wanting to see the deputies acting as their leaders passing laws and really acting as elected representatives. Without this, elections will not be held with the participation of all the people and once again we will be faced with distrust. I would not like that to happen.

Recent events, including those in Russia, the war which is unfortunately in progress in Georgia, highlights yet another important political aspect of national security—the need to reform society within the framework of the constitutional law. This demands that the bodies of power and all political groupings should abide by the constitution currently in force, no matter who is assessing it and how. Believe me, I also see many of its inconsistencies and norms which are inconvenient for the president as well. But one must abide by law or change the constitution. If we embark on a different road, confrontation will become inevitable. The experience of our life in a post-Soviet period, the life of other countries, and the whole of history testify to the inevitability of this if laws are violated, if one force confronts another force disregarding law and disregarding the constitution. If we all hold out and compete and cooperate within the framework of law, searching for a compromise, I am convinced that we will steer Ukraine through the menacing rapids of the crisis and danger.

And here is one more point concerning the political sphere. The implementation of the integration pattern of Ukraine's development, which we have outlined provides for orientation toward political forces of a centrist nature, which I have already talked about. This will make it possible to ensure in political terms the evolutionary nature of society's development, to avoid confrontation in the activities of different political forces, to promote compromise between various branches of power, to ensure the consolidation of our society. Ukraine's national interests demand a refusal to create an enemy image of some political forces. Therefore, it would be expedient—I am express my own opinion—to create if not a bloc or a union then at least political forces on the principles of centrism before the elections. I call on all forces, responsible before the Ukrainian people, forces which care about our state and about its fate, to do this.

Now for the economic aspects of security, in brief, of course. Today there are grounds to ascertain the catastrophic state of our Ukrainian economy. This was said both in the reports and in the accompanying reports. Developments in the current year leave no hope that there will be a significant improvement this year. We must say this openly to ourselves and to the people. Everything is in a crisis situation. But an acute investment crisis should evoke the gravest concern. Among the main reasons for such a state of the Ukrainian economy is procrastination as far as the implementation of real reforms is concerned, not those which have been declared. We must understand that the only way out of the situation lies through reforms. As a matter of fact, two years and six months have to a great extent been wasted as far as implementation of the reforms is concerned, despite the adoption of a number of important legal acts on the privatization of state property and the demonopolization of industry. Today, Ukraine's economy remains extremely monopolized. In industry, 75 to 80 percent of the gross national product is manufactured by monopolist enterprises and it is not that simple to change this situation quickly. But it is necessary to change it because this creates exceptional difficulties for advancing the privatization and for developing a competitive market medium. Both the course itself and the sequence of economic reforms have turned out to be erroneous and contradictory in principle. Out of the two known alternatives of a transition from a centralized-planned, directed economy toward a market economy we chose a liberalization model connected with the monetary approach and oriented toward rigid methods of financial stabilization. However, these approaches have not justified themselves. So, where is the way out? I believe it is necessary immediately to change the orientation and contents of the economic reform. The liberalization model must give up its place to a socially oriented market economy model. Its implementation must begin with the introduction of such fundamentals as the transformation of property ownership and ensuring pluralist forms through consistent demonopolization and privatization.

We intended to create market foundations and financial and banking structures quickly, although we have not managed this. But we have not created market foundations in production, and all of this caused severe consequences in both the financial and the banking structures themselves. The only justified approach under current conditions is an evolutionary one with minimal social victims.

The ill-considered and rushed nature of the reform methods employed up to now have caused a general reduction in people's living standards, which is inappropriate to the starting conditions. And attempts somehow to soften it are not yielding any results as yet. And we are flinging ourselves from one course to another, from one road to another. Therefore, we have now begun—and the speakers talked about this—to elaborate a program of state regulation of the economy, and above all regarding the state sector. As long as there is a state sector, it should be regulated. The idea of economic transformations should be to finally turn the state sector into a fully fledged element of the market. I want to stress again, when the state interferes directly in production, it should not do so. We are immediately criticized for going over to the old system of management.

I want our position to be understood in this way. We favor the state regulating the state sector of the economy, but regulation in the direction of going over to a market, in the direction of transforming it on market principles, but not totally, not spontaneously, but consistently, being guided by the experience of other states.

We should go along the path of forming a homogeneous market environment, and at the same time carry out the privatization process, carrying it out naturally within a natural framework, which is determined by criteria of economic expediency, not simply as a wish but on the basis of realistic possibilities. In a transitional economy the state should concentrate its efforts, and will be

concentrating them in these directions: control and assistance in preserving key production capacities and the most valuable and technically advanced equipment, and exemptions from profit tax directed at these aims.

I had a conversation yesterday with many people's deputies and managers of enterprises. They say that if the state cannot ensure the organization of affairs at enterprises where there is advanced modern equipment, then it should give them the possibility of acting appropriately. It cannot be otherwise. I am in favor of this; I support the creation of modern enterprises, especially in the consumer sector, the renewal of investment and solvent demand, which has fallen to its limit and does not ensure that basic capital is recreated.

Agriculture should continue to be a priority, as should enterprises which process agricultural raw materials, and also converted enterprises of the military-industrial complex. One should prevent the very possibility of conditions arising which lead to an accumulation of indebtedness (?around) enterprises.

It is very important—and I would like support for this—that we immediately suspend state support for innovational activity which lags behind the world level by 10-15 or more years. On the contrary, we should support innovations the introduction of which enables technological breakthroughs to be secured in the shortest periods of time. Otherwise we will again be maintaining backward production and backward technologies at the expense of the state.

The next thing is the creation of a system to stimulate small business in the sphere of production and services, in particular granting state credits for such businesses to purchase equipment. And then, the creation of our own production of medicines. Up to now we have been spending enormous funds on purchasing medicines abroad and this is inefficient. Such work is already being carried out, and there are certain proposals. We have to set up the production of the medicines we need in Ukraine in the near future.

One of the priorities in the entire complex of national security issues today are social aspects. And among these are people's living standards and their social wellbeing. There is a threat of further regression in this sphere and I would like to support those deputies who spoke here about social cataclysms and we must take most resolute measures toward that end. We all must clearly understand that the depth of national-patriotic sentiments and the patience of citizens are not boundless. Today the issue of people's living standards is at the forefront of the struggle to consolidate independence. Therefore, all the proponents of Ukrainian statehood should transfer the focus of their attention to solving this problem. And now the military aspects. The buildup of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is a state matter and a matter for our future. It needs to take into account Ukraine's economic, scientific and technical possibilities with regard to the upkeep and equipping of the Army and the Fleet, a scientific grounding, its coordination, and agreement with the national interests with regard to guaranteeing the security of the individual, society, and the state. Ukraine's strategic task in the sphere of defense is to protect its state sovereignty, maintain territorial integrity, and the inviolability of the borders. The military doctrine which was adopted on 19 October this year has a defensive nature, and is directed at preserving peace and preventing war; it adheres to the principles of not being the first to use military force and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In accordance with a Supreme Council decision, the size of the Armed Forces, as noted here, should be 450,000 strong, which is 0.8 percent of the Ukrainian population. However, this figure is not our dogmatic approach to the armed forces. We will be sincere: Today, it is not the numerical composition which is the guarantor of national security. The experience of local wars testifies to the fact that in building up the armed forces one must adopt the policy of a qualitative rather than a quantitative development. Here I support those people's deputies who voiced their opinions about the fact that we need deeper reforms in the armed forces, and the doctrine adopted by the Supreme Council now opens up such a possibility. The task is to ensure that the Ukrainian Armed Forces are equipped with modern, technologically advanced weapons and military hardware. For this, an appropriate scientific and manufacturing base is required, capable of carrying out the development and manufacturing new types of weapons. The defense minister said this to the Supreme Council.

The defensive direction of Ukraine's military policy, the repudiation of unequivocally choosing permanent trends of military threats, of determining the possibility that they might arise from any direction, and the possibility of being strong everywhere, places appropriate demands on the Ukrainian Armed Forces. In order to secure state security, which has a significantly long land border with a large number of adjacent states, its armed forces should be a model army, able to guarantee the timely concentration and deployment of the necessary military formations in dangerous directions, and to rebuff aggression from a possible adversary. Control over strengthening the defense capacity of Ukraine and its security remains an objective reality, because in the current situation no state in the world can develop normally without this.

All this demands the concentration of efforts to modernize weapons which have been well proven in the armed forces, and to develop the means of armed struggle that correspond to current demands. At the same time, it is necessary to concentrate attention on preparing future technological breakthroughs that can secure the high standard of combat capacity of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. I would like to stress that Ukraine has such possibilities.

Finally, international aspects: As the Guidelines of Ukraine's Foreign Policy determine, our state favors the

creation of all- embracing international systems of universal and pan-European security, and considers participation in them to be a basic component of its own national security. The official registration of interstate relations with the former USSR republics, now CIS members, got under way on the principles of international law. It is clear that the CIS partners have many common interests and objectives. Life has shown that their economic development will long be determined by mutual relations, especially those with Russia which is an important source not only of energy and raw material resources, industrial equipment, commodities, armaments, and technology but is also an important source—and I would like you to understand me correctly—of stabilization and peace in Ukraine. Stabilization and peace in Russia are an important factor of stabilization and peace in Ukraine. This is why we should in every way possible support democratic processes in Russia—democratic as to their essence, as to their nature—and abstain from moves which will stand in the way of Russia's progress along the road of democracy because this is an important factor of our security and possibilities on the road toward democratic market transformations. I understand how difficult it is for us to build relations today with the former USSR countries and with other foreign countries and this is not an exception. The formation of the new, large European state, its appearance on the international scene, inevitably attracts attention to its policy and intentions. And we have to be very attentive and principled today in ensuring that the main principles of policy be determined and conducted from the outset in conformity with the UN Charter and with other international normative acts, and in the interests of Ukraine's own security.

But there is one most important thing: we must build relations of friendship, partnership, and responsibility with our neighbors. If we fail to understand this and again start going to extremes we will find ourselves in a complicated situation. I have said this more than once and I would like to emphasize this again. There was little discussion on this issue, and I would like to ask you to draw serious attention to yet another factor in our documents and in our decisions. What I have in mind is ensuring security in terms of information. I believe everybody will support me in the fact that it is the absence of active information work and possibilities for ensuring our policy, our course, our vision, our intentions: These are quite often distorted by other sources and this causes very serious problems both in our state and beyond its borders when it comes to making a realistic assessment of Ukraine's policy and of their moves in relation to us. This is an important aspect and I believe when the Supreme Council listens to a report by our television and radio committee this issue will probably emerge on a broader horizon and will be brought up for a more extensive discussion, and ever-more principled and extensive decisions.

Concluding this speech, I again emphasize that national security is a kind of a general and collective indicator of the effectiveness of the state's domestic and foreign policies. I believe that the discussion of relevant issues at the Supreme Council should be carried out on a regular basis, the more so that such experience does exist in the world. It can be different. For example, a schedule of parliamentary hearings of separate priority issues in the sphere of national security can be drawn up, a list of priority draft documents and important program documents can be compiled from the point of view of their importance for national security. The normative provision of the policy of national security envisages the elaboration and adoption of the law on national security of Ukraine which will determine the tasks, principles, and main elements of the national security system of Ukraine, including the status and plenary powers of the National Security Council. This law must become a legal basis for all the activities in the above field of state policy.

Ukraine desparately needs civil accord and consolidation. The current interests and needs of people, with their likings, habits, and traditions, and the coherent and steady introduction of principles of social justice should be of decisive significance in social changes. It seems to me that this is the only way toward achieving social peace, preserving Ukraine's statehood, and ensuring rapid progress. I hope that, according to the results of this discussion, the Supreme Council will make relevant decisions and give instructions to the bodies of power as far as the drafting of the necessary documents is concerned. Thank you for your attention.

Council Discusses Military, Nuclear Issues

PM2210124993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 93 p 3

[Grigoriy Nesmyanovich report: "Moscow Itches, Kiev Scratches. The Ukrainian Parliament Has at Last Adopted the Draft Military Doctrine"]

[Text] Observing the Ukrainian parliament's activity recently, you cannot help concluding that the Supreme Council adopts its decisions under the impression of the events occurring in Russia. It is possible to include among them the verdicts on the government's resignation and on the holding of early reelections of all the representative branches of power.

A Moscow accent was also heard clearly in the discussion of national security problems which began 19 October. For prior to that it had been emphasized repeatedly in parliament that the discussion of these issues could be deferred no longer following the October events in the Russian capital.

The result exceeded the expectation. Following a speech by Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Vasiliy Durdinets, the draft Ukrainian military doctrine, which had previously been blocked twice, was adopted surprisingly quickly. And a successful way around the chief stumbling block in this issue—the fate of the 176 nuclear missiles sited in Ukraine—was even found. This was obviously

helped by the formula which had been found, according to which Ukraine will become a nuclear-free power only in the indefinite future. Its temporary nuclear status is thereby virtually asserted. This is also confirmed by Leonid Kravchuk's statement that Ukraine intends to keep 46 SS-24 missiles.

Although the discussion was conducted behind closed doors, it is known that a decree was also adopted on the numerical strength and structure of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the organizational and technical principles of building them. It is also proposed to examine the economic aspects of the military doctrine.

Council Discusses National Security

LD2210151993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0905 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Kiev, 21 Oct—The Supreme Council session continued to discuss issues of national security. [passage omitted]

On the basis of the report by Oleksandr Tarasenko, chairman of the commission for issues of defense and state security, the resolution on the draft concept of the basis of Ukraine's national security policy was adopted by 267 votes in favor. It was decided to charge the commission of the Supreme Council for issues of defense and state security, together with the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the president's administration, with elaborating the draft concept of national security [words indistinct]. It should be noted that the draft concept lists threats to Ukraine's national security, particularly in the state political sphere—the unregulated nature of a range of issues regarding the strategic nuclear armaments of the former USSR, the presence on Ukraine's territory of armed forces of foreign states, and so on.

Ukraine's national security system is set forth in the fourth section. The main subject of national security is the state. The obligations of the Supreme Council, the president of Ukraine, the Council of National Security, the cabinet of ministers, and the citizens are also listed. The draft contains a clause which notes that citizens should draw the attention of social and state institutions to dangerous phenomena and processes in various spheres of the functioning of the country.

The draft law was approved in principle and will be elaborated. A law on Ukraine's national security will be elaborated on its basis. Changes were made to the law on Ukraine's defense and Armed Forces and military duty. It was noted in the law on public military duty and military service that both servicemen and civilians can be appointed to the posts of minister of defense and his deputies. It was noted in the law on defense that the president of Ukraine as of today occupies the post of commander in chief (and not commander), and the title of the staff was changed from the main staff [holovnyy shtab] to general staff [heneralnyy shtab]. It was confirmed in the law on the Armed Forces that ground troops, air defense troops, and the naval forces are part of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk, Officials View National Security Situation

AU2210142893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 Oct 93 p 2

["Interviews in the Lobby" with President Leonid Kravchuk; Colonel General Anatoliy Lopata, Armed Forces chief of staff; Ihor Derkach, people's deputy and member of the Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security; Valeriy Cherep, chairman of the Commission for Questions of Construction, Architecture, and Communal Management; and People's Deputy Mykola Porovskyy by Lyudmyla Kokhanets and Natalya Filipchuk in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] **Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine:**

"Today, it is the state of our economy, rather than the external enemy, that threatens Ukraine's national security.

Colonel General Anatoliy Lopata, chief of staff of Ukraine's Armed Forces:

The Armed Forces must be reduced by one-half. However, this does not mean that their financing must be reduced. Reforms also need expenditure.

Ihor Derkach, people's deputy, member of the Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security:

The question of Ukraine's national security was brought to the attention of the people's deputies well in advance. Many problems have arisen in the way in which the state and military administration bodies are formed. President L. Kravchuk made serious mistakes regarding the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. The situation with the nuclear weapons is serious, because the decisions on ensuring technological control over their storage on the territory of Ukraine have not been fulfilled. There exist problems with reforming the Armed Forces: their reduction and re-equipment and the development of new weapons.

However, the events in Moscow have forced us to shift our accents. Ukraine must monitor the situation that is taking shape at its borders, and be ready, at any unpredictable moment, to implement the mechanism of defense.

There is much talk about the sales of weapons abroad. However, this is rather squandering than sales. The Ukrainian state is not seriously engaged in any arms sales and it does not do so officially or on a legal basis. This may be exemplified by the case of Iran, when we had a chance to sell weapons at a profit, but the [United] States interfered, and we gave in to its pressure. As a result, 300 Russian tanks were supplied to Iran.

However, in order to resolve these problems, we must have normal administrative bodies and not only normative acts.

Valeriy Cherep, chairman of the Commission for Questions of Construction, Architecture, and Communal Management:

Economic stability guarantees national security. Here, I find idle talk to be the worst enemy. We are making much noise about the need to stabilize the economy, but what are we doing about it? The decline in production over nine months has reached almost 21 percent. There is total lack of proper management in all the sectors of industry. Especially in those that produce food for the people. There are no energy resources. Where are mechanisms for saving? There are none. Is anybody abroad to blame for us acting stupidly? Is Moscow preventing us from saving at least what we have?

I do not think that any decisions will be adopted at the closed plenary meeting on those questions that are being discussed today. Maybe just some instructions. It is only possible to speak in essence after studying the comprehensive program for the emergence from the economic crisis that must be submitted to the Supreme Council by the president and government. Now, we have simply familiarized ourselves with the discouraging situation.

Mykola Porovskyy, Ukraine's people's deputy:

The general impression from today's meeting is as follows: The long-awaited discussion of the questions of national security was not properly prepared. There were speeches, and negative facts were stated. There were many examples, but very few forecasts or proposals. In my opinion, the speeches by Chairman of the Security Service Ye. Marchuk and Defense Minister V. Radetskyy stood out against the general background. They did not just tell us about what has already been done—the struggle against organized crime and the activity of the special services of neighboring countries against Ukraine, but also outlined prospects for our national security.

Security Council Official Views Tasks

AU2210182893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 20 Oct 93 p 8

[Interview with Valeriy Kartavtsev, acting secretary of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian president, by Anatoliy Ben; place and date not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] **The recent events in Ukraine and outside have directed the attention of the Supreme Council, the leadership of our state, and political and public organizations to an immediate resolution of the problems of Ukraine's national security. It is time to consider realistically what we can do to oppose the internal and external threat to the vital interests of the individual, society, and state, which is not something abstract or imaginary, as it seemed to be quite recently. Valeriy Kartavtsev, acting secretary of the National Security Council subordinated to the Ukrainian president, tells us his opinion about the problem.**

[Kartavtsev] Today, perhaps, nobody has any doubt that a whole series of internal and external factors is having a destructive influence upon the process of state building in our country.

First, external threats to our state's sovereignty are emerging increasingly often. They are associated with territorial claims upon Ukraine. They are also reinforced by internal factors, and particularly by the activity of separatist forces.

Second, the threat to social stability from the growth of social tension, the deterioration of the crime-breeding situation, and the sharp decline in the standard of living is steadily growing. Unless these factors are eliminated, it is impossible to achieve any positive results in building an independent state and creating conditions for the self-preservation and progress of Ukraine's people in a healthy environment, material well-being, and a democratic society.

Third, negative processes in the economy are presenting a real threat to Ukraine's future.

Objectively speaking, there is also a whole series of acute threats to our national interests that considerably restricts the country's possibilities of socioeconomic development and constitute a serious obstacle to satisfying the essential needs of the people and the society. All of these present grounds for anxiety about the state of Ukraine's national security. In this connection, the Supreme Council must discuss this question at its meeting.

This problem is very complicated and multifaceted. However, in my opinion, attention must be focused on the main point—the creation of an integral system of Ukraine's national security.

[Ben] Valeriy Stepanovych, here, a natural question arises: What kind of system is it and what is its qualitative difference from the one that is, today, being created by the state bodies, first and foremost, law-enforcement ones that are based on force, bodies that must, by definition, deal with these problems?

[Kartavtsev] The threats to our national interests are complex in character and, as a rule, they affect many spheres of social life. Meanwhile, measures for neutralizing the threats or lowering the level of them that are being taken by ministries and departments are often poorly coordinated and dissociated. Not only does such practice require much effort and great amounts of material and financial outlays, but it is also ineffective. Besides, the limited possibilities of individual state bodies and the lack of coordination in their actions do not always make it possible to mobilize the state's possibilities for protecting its national interests.

Therefore, we need an integral and balanced system of protection of the individual, society, and state, a system that would be based upon a coordinated state policy aimed at guaranteeing national security. A state organ

with a corresponding purpose orientation and necessary powers, an organ that would be independent of ministries and departments, is capable of ensuring comprehensive elaboration of such a policy and its efficient implementation.

As follows from the experience accumulated by the world's leading countries, the National Security Council is such an body. In Ukraine, this body was created by a Ukrainian presidential decree in July 1992 for the purpose of formulating and implementing a policy in the sphere of protection of our state's vital interests and guaranteeing its national security. The council is composed of leaders of the appropriate ministries and departments and other officials. It is a consultative and advisory body subordinate to the president of Ukraine. Over the relatively short period of its existence, the council has already made a certain contribution to the creation of the system of national security.

[Ben] Since the council is made up of leaders of various ministries and departments, each one of them is trying, in one way or another, to defend the interests of the state body that he is in charge of. Therefore, a better mechanism for adopting such decisions is necessary. What do you think about this?

[Kartavtsev] Undoubtedly, ministries and their leaders are taking an active part in this process. However, in my opinion, a special professional body—the apparatus of the National Security Council—must unite their joint efforts for an integral elaboration of national security issues. This apparatus, proceeding from the information supplied by the appropriate ministries and departments and with their direct participation, reveals possible threats to Ukraine's national interests, analyzes and categorizes them, and then predicts scenarios for the development of events and the extent to which they may affect the state's national security. Based on such an analysis, the apparatus devises, for members of the council, proposals on specific measures for protecting national interests, rational ways to emerge from possible crisis situations, and trends in the internal and external policy in the sphere of national security. On the basis of these materials, the council makes the appropriate decisions. Such an approach to work has been tested by world experience.

[Ben] Well, suppose the National Security Council receives extensive powers, capital, and an authoritative apparatus. What next? How can we, in the present conditions, resolve the entire complex of issues concerning guaranteeing a suitable level of national security?

[Kartavtsev] The creation of a reliable system for guaranteeing national security is a complex and a quite lengthy process. Practical state building in this respect requires profound theoretical elaborations. It is, therefore, necessary to unite the potential of specialized scientific research institutions, institutions of higher learning, and, as I understand it, the National Institute for Strategic Studies must be authorized to coordinate studies in this sphere.

However, even today there have emerged problems in the creation of an integral system of Ukraine's national security the resolution of which cannot be delayed. Their resolution must be promoted by a complex of consecutive measures and actions, including those at the level of the Supreme Council.

First, it is necessary, at the political level, to specify the conceptual principles of national security, and in particular its general principles, the principles of the formation and implementation of national security policy, to determine the goals and tasks of the security system, as well as the ways, means, and techniques for their achievement and fulfillment.

Second, besides the conceptual formulations, national security policy requires a normative foundation—the development and maintenance in a proper state with a totality of laws that are meant to create the necessary conditions for protecting the national interests in the various spheres of social life. First of all, it is necessary to elaborate and adopt a law "On Ukraine's National Security."

Third, measures of an organizational character are needed: The decision by the Supreme Council to create the National Security Council and the adoption of a corresponding statute. This would enable the National Security Council to function upon a new legal basis until a law "On Ukraine's National Security" is adopted and to act more efficiently in the difficult conditions of building an independent state. Unless these measures are implemented, it is impossible to build a reliable system of national security in our country and protect the vital interests of the individual, the society, and Ukraine.

Kravchuk: Energy Crisis Reason To Retain Chernobyl

AU2310200093 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Report by Roland Adrowitzer on interview with President Leonid Kravchuk in Bonn on 23 October—recorded; Kravchuk speaks in Ukrainian, with passage-by-passage translation into German]

[Text] [Adrowitzer] The report from Kiev that Chernobyl must remain in operation shocked Europe this week. Even Russia, which itself operates some dubious nuclear power plants, has offered to help Ukraine modernize Chernobyl; otherwise, further operation would be impermissible. Hundreds of thousands are still suffering from the consequences of the accident [in 1986]. However, Ukraine claims that closing the plant down now would be even more dangerous than continuing to operate it.

On the sidelines of the international Bertelsmann forum [in Bonn], Ukrainian President Kravchuk insisted that the energy crisis in his country is the only reason to continue operations in Chernobyl. He rejected assumptions that Ukraine wants to keep a pawn in the form of Chernobyl and its nuclear missiles.

[Kravchuk] In order to destroy and neutralize the missile complexes, we need support and help. Ukraine also needs legal guarantees for its national security.

[Adrowitzer] Thus, there is no Ukrainian nuclear threat?

[Kravchuk] Even if we wanted to, we are not able to threaten with nuclear weapons, because Yeltsin keeps the button to himself.

[Adrowitzer] Austria will continue to buy electricity produced in nuclear power plants in Ukraine, Kravchuk said. However, because of his country's energy crisis, the amount will be smaller than in the past. He was unable to say whether this will include power from Chernobyl. Ukraine has a power network; there is no direct line from Chernobyl to Austria, Kravchuk said.

New Pro-Ukrainian Party Formed in Crimea

LD2210195293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0805 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Simferopol, 21 Oct—The first sitting has taken place of the organizational committee of the Ukrainian Civic Congress of the Crimea [Ukrayinskyy Hromadyanskyy Konhres Krymu], which is the provisional name of a new all-Crimean party. The main reason for the formation of this party was the refusal by the Crimean Supreme Council to grant Crimean branches of all-Ukrainian parties the right to participate in parliamentary elections in the Autonomous Republic of the Crimea on an equal footing with all-Crimean political organizations, as well as the fact that there were no all-Crimean political organizations, registered in the Crimea, whose purpose would be to strengthen the Ukrainian state. The newly formed party will espouse the establishment of Ukrainian statehood in the Crimea and protect the rights of the Ukrainian population of the Republic of the Crimea. It was decided that the party's constituent conference would be held in Simferopol on 8 November. Ihor Banakh was elected chairman of the executive commission of the organizational committee.

Belarus

Representative Addresses UN Committee, Praises Efforts

WS2210141193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Today, political discussions at the UN General Assembly came to an end and different committees began to discuss their agendas. Belarusian representative Sergey Zvanko delivered a speech at a meeting of the Committee for Sociopolitical Issues and Decolonization. He praised UN activities in the process of decolonization. The Belarusian representative emphasized that the number of dependent territories had been reduced from 64 in 1961 to 18 in 1992. Having achieved independence, former colonies have become self-governing countries, as well as members of the United Nations and other international organizations. Belarus understands the problems and interests of those countries, and also supports the hopes and aspirations of those nations that have not yet joined the international community.

Ministry Drafts Procedure for Moving Weapons Across Border

PM2210143393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report: "Even a Tank Can Be Stolen in Belarus"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belarusian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has laid down the procedure for issuing permits for movement across the republic border of objects that pose a danger to the lives and health of citizens.

These include military weapons and their ammunition, hunting and sporting guns, gas and edged weapons, including hunting knives. Imitation firearms were also on the list.

The Belarusian MVD is being forced to take these steps. The republic's public is gripped by profound concern owing to the tremendous scale of weapons theft. The local press cites impressive figures and facts. The numerous troop units stationed in Belarus are the main suppliers of the weapons. It is not only a question of pistols and assault rifles. Even armored vehicles are being stolen. A stolen tank was found in Rossonskiy Rayon. Some 23 automatic gun shells that had been made ready to be stolen have been confiscated from a barracks in Grodno. Following long efforts the republic's law-enforcement organs have identified and eliminated the arms traffickers' channels with Armenia, Russia, and the Baltics.

A tremendous quantity of weapons have "gone missing" in Belarus. The number of crimes involving weapons has risen almost 80 percent here.

Moldova

Dniester Security Ministry Denies Part in Moscow Events

LD2310095193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The officers of the Security Ministry in the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian Republic denied reports that the ministry's personnel took part in the Moscow fighting on October 3rd and 4th.

"The unfounded stories of the participation of 'Transdniestrian gunmen' (in the Moscow events) create a negative attitude towards the security personnel and discredit the republic in the eyes of the international community," says an appeal to the Defense and Security Ministries and the prosecutor general of Russia adopted by a meeting of the officers.

The appeal expresses regret over the fact that "Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army, took an active part in the anti-Dniestrian campaign...His numerous statements to mass media are destructive and provocative, label the republic's Supreme Soviet and government and may push reactionary forces to replaying the 1991-92 events."

An investigation mounted by the ministry did not establish any case of sending weapons or ministry personnel to Moscow.

"We are prepared to make available to appropriate agencies of the Russian Federation any information which would help establish the truth and put an end to the smear campaign," the document says.

The meeting called on the Russian appropriate agencies "to take part in an unbiased investigation and help in identifying the sources and causes of misinformation so as to prevent consequences detrimental to the peoples of Transdniestria."

Snegur, CSCE Official Discuss Dniester Problem

AU2410202093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1905 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 22/10/1993—In today's afternoon Mircea Snegur, president of Moldova had a meeting with Oliver Spenser, director of the CSCE Council for Parliamentary Meetings. The presidential press service reports that during the meeting some aspects of the social-political situation in eastern regions and ways of decreasing the tension in Moldova were considered. President Snegur underlined that the participation of citizens from the Dniester region in the future parliamentary elections was very important. He also stated the delegation of CSCE observers was very important. The president declared that future elections will mean a new step towards democratization of the society underlining that after the Moscow mutiny a favourable situation for solving the Chisinau-Tiraspol relations

appeared. Snegur said that the present government is open for solving the existing problems by peaceful methods. At his turn, Oliver Spenser highly appreciated the cease of the military conflict of last spring and summer. At the same time he argued that the victory of democratic forces from Moscow was "a favourable moment for all of us" to eliminate in a peaceful way all tensions in Europe. The director of the Council for Parliamentary Meetings asked President Snegur for supplementary information regarding the present status of the 14th Army on the territory of Moldova. This information will be used at the forthcoming meetings with Russian authorities, states the quoted source. "I met on the left bank of River Dniester with several people willing to accelerate the negotiations with Chisinau to solve the existent litigations," stated today evening to journalists Oliver Spenser, head of the Secretariat of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly. The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly which is a relatively new institutions and the permanent CSCE mission in Moldova will stimulate by all means the beginning of the negotiations and will try hard to solve the conflict from eastern Moldova, says Spenser. He hopes that CSCE representatives will arrive soon in Moldova to assist at the preparations of elections and at the elections themselves.

Snegur Pleads for Dniester Region's 'Political Prisoners'

PM2210153393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Krasulin report from material provided by Radio Moscow International under the "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries" rubric: "Chisinau"]

[Text] In a telegram addressed to [UN Secretary General] Mr. Butros Ghali, [Swedish Foreign Minister] Baroness Margaretha af Ugglas, [Council of Europe Secretary General] Mme. Catherine Lalumiere, and [Russian Federation President] Boris Yeltsin, Republic of Moldova President Mircea Snegur has expressed concern yet again about the fate of political prisoners held in Tiraspol prisons. Mr. Snegur called on the international organizations and the Russian Federation president to assist in preventing the leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic from descending into anarchy. Mr. Petru Lucinschi, chairman of the Republic of Moldova Parliament, made the same appeal to the international organizations.

Dniester Rejects Parliamentary Elections in Present Form

LD2310135893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The leaders of the Dniester region refuse to take part in elections to the Parliament of Moldova as long as it is described in its Constitution as a multiethnic, unitary state. One of the leaders of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, Grigoriy Marakutsa, chairman of the Supreme Soviet said that the region may participate only in elections to a single, federal parliament, with the emphasis on the confederative structure of Moldova.

Snegur, Civic Alliance Call For 'Concrete Steps'

AU2310161693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1929 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/10/1993—Mircea Snegur met today with representatives of the Civic Alliance, states the press service of the presidency. The guests mentioned that concrete steps are needed to smooth the situation in Moldova. In their opinion, the future parliamentary elections will be a serious political moment. President Snegur said that such parties existing in Moldova prove that there are real forces able to support the people pleading for Moldova's independence. In his opinion, it is very important that the people are well prepared for the future parliamentary elections. Any possibilities to manipulate the people are out of question, he said. According to those from the Civic Alliance, they intend to invite into their party citizens from Eastern Moldova and Gagauz localities, stated the quoted source.

Official Says 'No Hindrance' to Joining Council of Europe

AU2410202693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1905 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 22/10/1993—The approval by the Moldovan Parliament of the law on parliamentary elections and the setting of their date was the most democratic solution of the parliamentary crisis, stated today Thomas Markert, representative of the Council of Europe. He stated this at a press conference held today by members of the experts group of the Council of Europe. The experts group came in Chisinau invited by the Moldovan Parliament. They analysed together with local experts the law on parliamentary elections and the project of law on local elections. The elections that will take place according to the laws analysed by the group will be free and democratic said Markert. He said that there is no hindrance in Moldova's adherence to the Council of Europe since no ex-Soviet republic except Baltic states did not become member of the Council. Moldova will enter the Council of Europe after the free elections on the basis of many parties and after the approval of the new constitution. It would be a pity if the people of the Dniester region did not take part in elections in the Moldovan Parliament, stated Markert to BASA. "I am sure that Moldovan authorities will do their best that all citizens take part in elections, including those from the left bank of the Dniester River. But I am also conscious that this may be impossible," he stated.

Prime Minister Says Moldova To Become Unified

LD2310174793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The Moldovan Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli is sure that next year Moldova will be single and indivisible, the prime minister said in an interview carried Saturday in the newspaper "KISHINEVSKIYE NOVOSTI".

Assessing the current situation in the republic, the prime minister has said that the government has been working for five months without serious support and necessary laws. In this situation the government understands particularly clearly how it is important to hold parliamentary elections at the highest level. Sangheli, though, has not yet decided whether he will take part in the election campaign.

He has said that he fears the fact that Moldova's external debt is close to $500 Mn. He believes the republic's debt to other countries constitutes 20-25 of the GNP.

Sangheli believes that the Moldovan Government must take additional pro-inflation measures. He said that unless it is clear what course the republic will take, the West will not help us seriously, said Sangheli.

Technical Council Session Ends in Chisinau

AU2310151293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1929 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 21/10/1993—Today, the third session of the Technical Scientific Council between the States (TSCS) was closed in Chisinau. The representatives of the Council stated during the press conference that important documents such as the decisions on the forms of joint activity, on the objects of common usage of all states, provisory program on fundamental researches, publication of a special bulletin were approved. Eugen Revenco, head of the main Scientific Direction for Supply at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, said that the objectives of common usage were not named when approving these decisions. The participants at the press conference state that the TSCS is not a political organization but an organization for technical and scientific coordination between the states. Sergey Ryabchenko, Ukrainian representative, said that the technical scientific level in the CIS countries is mostly equal. "This is why we created the TSCS separate from similar Western structures," stated Ryabchenko.

Victor Puscas Elected Republican Party President

AU2410201893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1905 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 22/10/1993—At the second conference of the Moldovan Republican Party (PRM), Victor Puscas, Moldovan deputy speaker, was elected as chairman of the party. Gheorghe Mazilu, doctor in philology, Vasile Cozma, lawyer, and Anatol Rotaru, doctor in physics and mathematics, were elected as vice chairman of the party, states the press communique signed by the new leader of the party. The participants in the conference nominated their representatives for the Central Electoral Commission. They also decided to convoke in December 1993 the first congress of PRM.

Kryange Denies Reports on Jun 1992 Events in Bendery

LD2210223493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1448 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau October 22 TASS—Moldovan Defence Minister General Pavel Kryange has denied media reports alleging that his predecessor, General Yon Kostash, was not involved in operations for the introduction of Moldovan troops in the city of Bendery on June 19, 1992.

In an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA newspaper Kryange declared that troops had been sent to Moldova on the order of Yon Kostash, who never opposed this decision.

After an agreement on the settlement of the armed conflict in the Dniester region had been signed in Moscow, Kostash was removed from his post and sent to Romania as a military attache. However, in an interview with the newspaper "TSARA" of the Moldovan People's Front published a few days ago chief of staff of the Moldovan Army, General Nikolae Petrike, says that Pavel Kryange was to blame for the tragedy in Bendery, while Kostash was in charge of "economic matters" at the time.

According to Kryange, it was not the Moldovan National Army which entered Bendery last June, but one battalion of reservists which helped interior troops to protect the city department of the Moldovan police which was attacked as a result of provocation.

Kryange said that at that time, Moldova's Army did not have a clear-cut structure as regards its command and armaments and consisted of reservists' formations. There were only two officers in the battalion which entered Bendery, but nevertheless, the battalion coped with its task properly and kept its position in the area of a bridge across the Dniester river in the direction of Tiraspol around twenty four hours, destroying several tanks, the defence minister said.

Cernauti Authorities Sue Romanian-Language Paper

AU2410202493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1905 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 22/10/1993—The first session of the trial of the newspaper PLAI ROMANESC [ROMANIAN LAND] sued by the press direction of the Cernauti regional administration started yesterday. The newspaper is accused of "attempt at the territorial integrity of Ukraine and instigation of ethnical conflicts." Vasile Tratanu, vice chairman of the "Mihai Eminescu" society, and lawyer Galina Cozorezova stated at the trial that the publication of the article "Who is Interested in Splitting the People of Bukovina?" by the head of Cernauti administration Ivan Gnatyshin is an attempt to influence the court's decision. The next session of the court will be held on November 5.

Kazakhstan

U.S. Secretary of State, Nazarbayev Discuss Security

LD2410143593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has continued his visit to the CIS countries. He is now paying a visit to Kazakhstan.

[Correspondent Baimbetov] Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, has met the head of the U.S. foreign policy department. Above all, they discussed the questions concerning nuclear weapons and defense security. Kazakhstan has once again confirmed its adherence to the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The sides came to a principal agreement on establishing bilateral cooperation in the field of nuclear regulation and the exchange of information on the appropriate programs on nuclear security. Furthermore, they signed an agreement on avoiding double taxation and an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation. The United States will grant $268 million for developing the fuel and energy complex of Kazakhstan; $148 million for encouraging privatization; and $15 million for improving the environment in the area of the Aral Sea. U.S. experts will help to solve ecological problems in the Semipalatinsk test range.

At a news conference, Warren Christopher also said that the United States is supporting the initiative of Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev on setting up a security system on measures of trust in Asia. [Video shows Warren Christopher and Nursultan Nazarbayev at negotiations, the signing of agreements, and Christopher and Nazarbayev answering questions during the news conference]

Christopher Visit Called 'Very Useful'

LD2410165193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1351 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Excerpts] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's official visit to Kazakhstan has ended. Here is a live report from our correspondent, Viktor Glukhovtsev:

[Glukhovtsev] Hello. Let me go ahead straight away and say that at the news conference given by President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, it was declared with satisfaction that this had been a very useful visit for both sides. The visit took place in the most amicable atmosphere and the talks proved very fruitful in many aspects. They covered the deepening of cooperation in both the political and the economic fields. In addition, particular stress was laid on the point that these relations ought to develop—and are already doing so—on the basis of a most equal partnership and on a long-term foundation.

With the splendid weather and the sunny day that Kazakhstan has given me for my arrival, Warren Christopher said, the talks are bound to have a good outcome as well. The United States is interested in cooperation with Kazakhstan, and the secretary of state declared that, on the instructions of President Clinton, our republic will be given the widest economic support.

On the basis of this, a convention on avoiding double taxation was signed today. This document will do much to encourage the further development of trade relations between Kazakhstan and the United States and to support private enterprise.

In addition, Warren Christopher declared that the United States will give Kazakhstan considerable assistance in improving the ecological situation in the Aral Sea basin: $15 million are being allocated for that purpose.

At the news conference Warren Christopher also announced some other initiatives which the United States will pursue in Kazakhstan. One is significant humanitarian assistance for the republic's health service. The United States will give Kazakhstan about $50 million [figure as heard] to support the privatization program. Another important thing is that the United States will send a group of experts to help solve the problems caused by the ecological disaster in Semipalatinsk Oblast.

A settlement of the nuclear issue was likewise discussed during the talks. President Nursultan Nazarbayev told the news conference that Kazakhstan will strictly implement the provisions of the Lisbon Protocol and that it intends to accede to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty by the end of this year. By the way, that treaty has already been signed by over 150 states in the world. [passage omitted: Christopher was given a birthday present]

Immediately after the news conference, Warren Christopher left Almaty. Literally an hour later, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani arrived, but that is a subject for tomorrow.

This is Viktor Glukhovtsev, reporting specially for Mayak.

Possible NATO Membership Mentioned

LD2410180793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] In Almaty today, U.S. Secretary of State Christopher and President of Kazakhstan Nazarbayev examined a series of questions concerning relations between both states. At a news conference, Warren Christopher announced the launch of broad scale aid by the United States to Kazakhstan. [passage omitted]

Today, NATO should begin to look to the east, and Kazakhstan could well join that bloc, Warren Christopher said at the end of the news conference.

Russia, Kazakhstan Hold Monetary Talks

LD2210142793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] A Russian-Kazakh intergovernment commission is holding a meeting in Almaty today to discuss the problem of standardizing the two countries' monetary systems. These are difficult talks. Kazakhstani First Deputy Prime Minister Daulet Sembayev told an Interfax corrspondent that Kazakhstan had still not received the new, (?centralized) [v tsentralizovannoy forme] Russian money, that is, through Russia's Central Bank.

Russian Premier Shokhin [title as received] stressed that Russia fully understood the acute problem countries in the ruble zone are having with cash availability, but said he would not like this technical problem resulting from an initiative of the Central Bank to push anyone into making rash decisions.

Shokhin also said that he is due to meet Nursultan Nazarbayev, the initiator of the new ruble zone, on Saturday.

Unresolved Talks Continue

LD2310133793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] The work of the bilateral intergovernmental commission to unite the monetary systems of Russia and Kazakhstan, which dragged on till late yesterday was resumed this morning at a plenary sitting. A meeting between Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, head of the Russian delegation gave new impetus to the talks. However, it still proved impossible to solve all the problems.

Shokhin said at a brief news conference that, obviously, there were certain discrepancies in the sphere of the Russian and Kazakhstan legislative bases, disagreements in the economic indices and living standards of the population. In the opinion of the Russian deputy prime minister, it is important to find an optimum option while setting up a new type of single ruble zone.

It was decided not to sign final documents in Almaty and to hold the second part of the sitting of the bilateral intergovernmental commission on 27 October in Moscow.

Nazarbayev Signs Cooperation Treaty With Mongolia

LD2210215993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0941 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Kim Boldokhonov]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 22 Oct—Following bilateral talks held here, Mongolian President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat and Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev today signed a treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries. This opens up broad prospects for stable and long-term cooperation in politics, economics, culture, and other spheres. A package of intergovernmental agreements was also signed today on joint work in the humanitarian and social spheres and in the transport sphere.

A joint news conference was then held.

I am happy to state, the Mongolian leader said, that we have a common position on all the domestic and foreign policy issues discussed. We have also embarked upon specific accords. Mongolia holds in high esteem Kazakhstan's initiative on setting up a system of confidence-building and security measures in Asia. We are pleased that the Kazakh side has voiced its active support for Mongolia's aspiration to become a nuclear-free zone.

Expressing complete agreement with his Mongolian colleague, N. Nazarbayev commented that the idea the latter had proposed on preserving peace and security on the Asian continent would find support in many countries, and stressed the need to implement it.

The presidents expounded in detail the substance of the accords regarding the problem of securing for local Kazakhs going to Kazakhstan on labor contracts the rights to permanent or temporary residence. Every citizen is guaranteed the right to choose his place of residence, and all issues relating to resettlement or contacts should be resolved on the basis of the constitutions of Mongolia and Kazakhstan and of non-interference in one another's internal affairs, both leaders stressed.

N. Nazarbayev spoke in the Great State Hural (the Mongolian parliament) today.

The Kazakhstani president will leave for home this evening.

Discusses Market Reforms

LD2310135293 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] A news conference was given by the presidents of Kazakhstan and Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar during which they spoke about democratic transformations and implementing market-oriented reforms in their countries. Attending the press conference were the prime minister of Mongolia and members of the official Kazakhstan delegation. They spoke about their vision of international problems and the contribution of both countries in tackling them.

Mongolia highly evaluated Kazakhstan's initiative on confidence building measures in Asia. President Ochirbat stressed that Mongolia and Kazakhstan have similar views on all the discussed issues. We are glad that

the Kazakh side expressed its active support for the aspiration of Mongolia to become a non-nuclear state, said the Mongolian president. Touching upon the events in the countries of the CIS and Russia both sides said that the development of events in Russia is of great importance both for Kazakhstan and Mongolia. Answering the question about the priority spheres for bilateral cooperation, the presidents specified such spheres as mining industry, agriculture, geology, power engineering, transport, and training.

The heads of the two states spoke also about the Kazakhs who came recently to Kazakhstan from Mongolia, with some of them having labor contracts. They emphasized the right of each citizen to choose his place of residency without any interference in internal affairs.

During President Nazarbayev's meeting with representatives of Mongolian business circles and leaders of works, the subject of discussion was cooperation between the private and commercial structures of both countries.

An agreement was signed between Mongolia and Kazakhstan on cooperation in humanitarian, transport, and other spheres as well as a package of inter-governmental agreements. They also discussed the possibility of the (Erdenet) concentrating mill's copper-molubdenum enrichment at Kazakhstan's works, and Mongolia will then receive ready-made products from Kazakhstan.

There is a wide scope for cooperation between Mongolia and Kazakhstan in oil extraction and geological surveying in the territory of Mongolia. Among the topical issues to be tackled by the two countries is the construction of the airport in Bayan-Ulegey and highways that will connect the nearest cities of both countries. The creation of joint enterprises that will process animal husbandry raw materials is viewed as an efficient form of cooperation. Nazarbayev delivered a speech at the Great State Hural where he focussed his attention on issues of cooperation between the two countries and the market transformations in Kazakhstan. The delegation of Kazakhstan also visited the British-Mongolian joint venture and it returned home on Friday afternoon.

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani Arrives in Almaty

LD2410154493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1438 GMT 24 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Amangeldy Akhmetalimov and Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty, 24 Oct—President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic of Iran arrived in the capital of Kazakhstan this evening. The guest was welcomed at the airport by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and other officials.

The schedule for the Iranian leader's three-day official visit to the republic envisages a one-to-one conversation with Nursultan Nazarbayev, talks between the full state delegations, an address by the president of Iran in the National Academy of Sciences, a visit to Almaty's central mosque, and a trip to Karaganda.

Turkmenistan

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani Arrives in Ashgabat

LD2210172393 Tehran IRNA in English 1321 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Ashgabat, Oct 22 (IRNA)—President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani arrived here from Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, today and was warmly welcomed by his Turkman counterpart Saparmurad Niyazov.

Upon arrival the president said Iran was keen to further expand its ties and cooperation with neighboring Turkmenistan.

Niyazov also told reporters that prospects of mutual relations and cooperation were bright, and that a few documents have been preprared in this respect which would be signed during Rafsanjani's visit.

Meanwhile, President Rafsanjani termed "successful" his two-day visit to Kyrgyzstan.

Speaking to reporters before his departure from Bishkek, he referred to the common viewpoints of the two countries concerning bilateral cooperation, and said his visit to Kyrgyzstan was a cornerstone for lasting and deep cooperation.

Meets With Niyazov

LD2210204693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1932 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Turkmenistan's President Saparmurad Niyazov met in Ashgabat with his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani who is on an official visit there. The two men had a 60-minute closed door talk on Friday.

On the same day, Niyazov gave his guest an Akhal-Tekin pedigree horse as present.

The Iranian president plans to visit historic sites in the east of Turkmenistan on October 23rd.

At the end of the visit numerous documents will be signed, notably a declaration on friendship and cooperation, a memorandum on construction of a West Turkmenistan-Iran-Europe pipeline and documents on cooperation in various areas.

Holds First Round of Talks

LD2310102293 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] In the first round of talks between the presidents of our country and Turkmenistan, Turkmen President Niyazov began by expressing satisfaction at the visit of

our country's president to Turkmenistan. He said: Our people are hopeful that the trip will have positive results.

He said cooperation in the field of road, rail, air, and sea transport and the establishment of communication links will create an economic boom in Central Asia and be to the advantage of the two peoples, the region, and the world.

The president of Turkmenistan pointed to the common religious, historical, and cultural elements between Iran and Turkmenistan and said: Cooperation between the two countries in the context of ECO—the Economic Cooperation Organization—and with the Caspian Sea littoral states will strengthen development and stability in the region.

Mr. Niyazov thanked the Islamic Republic of Iran for its efforts to establish peace and stability in the region.

In turn Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani thanked the people and Government of Turkmenistan for their hospitality and expressed satisfaction at the expansion of relations and the implementation of earlier agreements. There are no obstacles in the way of expanding cooperation between Iran and Turkmenistan, he said.

Our country's president added: Fortunately the foundation of relations between the two countries has taken shape and the infrastructure for the expansion of future cooperation has now been laid. Cooperation in the fields of science, culture, transport, trade, banking, and industry has now found its proper course, as well as visits by the nationals of the two countries.

Stressing the importance of maintaining stability and peace in the region in order to deepen cooperation, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: More than at any other time our region needs stability and peace, and efforts by Turkmenistan to develop while maintaining peace is a cause of satisfaction. Mr. Rafsanjani added: Through closer cooperation and unity, the Central Asian countries should solve all regional problems and issues, and the Islamic Republic of Iran is prepared to help in this regard. Our country's president also hoped that the problems of Tajikistan will be solved according to the will of its people.

Finally, committees were formed on political affairs, transport, oil and gas, trade and banking, culture, science, and education, industry, mining and metals, customs, post and communication, and energy, to study ways and means of expanding cooperation in these areas.

Attends Border Ceremony

LD2210200393 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Continuing the expansion process in Iran-Turkmenistan cooperation, the two countries' border in the Darreh-Gaz region was reopened this afternoon in the presence of Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Saparmurad Niyazov, the two countries' presidents.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who is in Turkmenistan continuing his tour of the Central Asian republics, attended a ceremony this afternoon with Turkmen President Niyazov at the two countries' border region in the Lotfabad district in Darreh-Gaz and opened the border between the two countries.

During the same ceremony a document was signed between our country's foreign affairs minister and the deputy Turkmen president for political affairs, facilitating consular cooperation, border protection, and the traffic of the two countries' national. Then Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani attended a gathering of Darreh-Gaz citizens who assembled at the Lotfabad Customs of Darreh-Gaz. Addressing them he said: We hope this region becomes a model for cooperation between the two countries' people and that you people try to rid yourselves of the deadlock which has ruled the region so far. We hope that you peaceful, sincere, and freedom-seeking people work hand in hand and construct your region as best as you can.

Mr. Niyazov described Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Turkmenistan as a historic event and expressed the hope that the visit results in the expansion of the two countries' relations.

Holds News Conference

LD2410180293 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Unidentified correspondent's report on news conference held by Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Turkmen President Niyazov in Turkmenistan on 24 October]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] President Hashemi-Rafsanjani attended a large gathering of scholars and prominent political figures, academics, students, and intellectuals this morning. He expressed appreciation for the hospitality extended to him by the government and people of Turkmenistan. [passage omitted]

The presidents of the two countries signed a document on cooperation in all fields in the presence of scholars and students. They then took part in a news conference and assessed the outcome of their meetings as positive. They stressed that they were in agreement about issues they discussed in all their meetings. Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: The agreements signed between the officials of the two countries concern training and scientific cooperation; transport, industry, commerce, communications, oil and gas, and customs facilities cooperation; and maritime cooperation.

The president described our country's stance vis-a-vis the crisis in Tajikistan and said: Iran adheres to its

foreign policy of noninterference in the affairs of others, and all the countries in the region are aware of this policy.

He said: We are doing our utmost to see a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Tajikistan, and the parties to the conflict should cooperate in this regard.

Mr. Separmurad Niyazov told reporters: The Government of Turkmenistan also believes that the Tajikistan crisis is an internal affair, and I am sure that the people of that country can, through their resolve and endurance, overcome their difficulties.

Agrees To Natural Gas Transit

LD2410183493 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran has agreed to the transit of Turkmen natural gas to Europe via the northern part of Iranian territory. The presidents of two countries signed a memorandum of understanding in this connection at the end of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's official visit to Turkmenistan. According to the memorandum of understanding, the two sides have declared their agreement with regard to the transit of Turkmenistan's natural gas via the Turkmen-Europe gas pipeline, with a maximum capacity of 31 billion cubic meters per year, which will pass through the northern part of the Islamic Republic of Iran. On the basis of the agreement, Turkmenistan will export its gas to Europe using this pipeline for 25 years.

Turkmenistan is among the world's richest countries in gas reserves. In this respect, it ranks second in Central Asia after Russia.

On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Turkmenistan are to cooperate in the anti-narcotics battle along the two countries' joint border. The framework of this cooperation was defined this afternoon in a memorandum of understanding signed by the two countries' roads and transport ministers. On the basis of this memorandum of understanding, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Turkmenistan will launch a joint battle against the illegal transport of drugs and medical stimulants by using their experience, technical equipment, and trained and experienced dogs.

Ends Visit With Joint Communique

LD2410172693 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Text] At the end of the official visit of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Turkmenistan, which lasted three days, a joint communique on the outcome of the visit was issued simultaneously in Tehran and Ashgabat.

In part, the communique stresses the Islamic Republic of Iran's readiness to give all-encompassing support to Turkmenistan during the period when that country's national currency is being put into circulation.

According to the communique, Iran and Turkmenistan are agreed on the point that no decision may be taken about the exploitation of the Caspian Sea or about its international and legal standing, without the participation of all its coastal countries.

The two sides have also expressed pleasure about the establishment of a cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and other areas of dispute between the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The communique has stressed the need for finding a political solution to the crisis on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The two countries have also stressed the need to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan. The presidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkmenistan stated that the establishment of peace and national reconciliation in Tajikistan will be possible through constructive dialogue with opposition groups, and through the fulfillment of the interests of the people of Tajikistan.

Uzbekistan

Shokhin Discusses Ruble Zone in Tashkent

LD2410155293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The setting up of the ruble zone which has been determined by the decision of the heads of the governments of the CIS countries is going on without any haste. One can come to this conclusion after analyzing the results of a visit by the government delegation of Russia, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, to the CIS countries.

[Correspondent Ganiyev] The ruble zone—what should it be, what kind of conditions should be provided, what are the obligations of the republics which joined the new financial union? These questions have been discussed in Tashkent by the Russian Government delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Shokhin and colleagues from the Government of Uzbekistan.

The volume of credit emission in the republic is much less than in Russia and the development of industrial and agricultural production is even higher. The Central Banks of the two states agreed to give up quotation of the Uzbek ruble with regard to the Russian ruble. But even taking into consideration these arguments the Russian side restrained itself from signing a protocol and proposed to continue the discussion of this vital bilateral problem next week in Moscow. Why did integration of the ruble zone turn out to be so difficult?

[Begin Shokhin recording] It would be a pity if we, after uniting the monetary system, run into an influx of inflation from one side to another, the same non-payment, and so on. In that case the idea of a ruble zone of a new type will be discredited in the very beginning. [end recording] [Video shows negotiations between the Russian and Kazakh delegations, then Shokhin speaking]

President Karimov To Visit France 27-30 Oct

PM2210153793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Krasulin report, based on Radio Moscow International reports, under the "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries" rubric: "Tashkent"]

[Text] A visit by Republic of Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov to France at the invitation of its government will take place 27-30 October. France was among the first to recognize Uzbekistan's independence and establish diplomatic relations with it. In a short space of time, relations between the two countries, which are amicable and based on equality, have reached a qualitatively new level. Bilateral agreements in such spheres as the mutual protection of capital investments, the agricultural sector, and tourism have been ratified. This visit by Republic President Islam Karimov will undoubtedly promote the further expansion and strengthening of friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between Uzbekistan and France.

Armenia

Azerbaijanis Said To Violate Karabakh Cease-Fire

NC2210135893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 0950 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Oct (ARMENPRES)—Azerbaijan has grossly violated the cease-fire agreement. Following a fierce artillery and rocket bombardment of the Karabakh Army's positions on the evening of 21 October, Azerbaijani Army subunits launched an offensive against Gadrutskiy and Dzhebrailskiy rayons. Following heavy fighting, the enemy managed to advance and occupy a number of defensive positions held by the NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] Defense Army. The casualty figures are being determined.

Though there have been no substantial changes in the other sectors of the battlefront, the concentration of Azerbaijani troops and military hardware is being observed in certain areas of the battlefront.

Offensive Reportedly Repulsed

LD2410140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1235 GMT 24 Oct 93

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Lori Gukasyan for TASS]

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Oct—Combat operations in the southern sector of the line of confrontation between Karabakh and Azerbaijan are continuing. As an ARMENPRESS correspondent was told at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's [NKR] State Defense Committee: Azerbaijani armed formations today resumed offensive operations, simultaneously subjecting a number of populated areas in the NKR's Gadrutskiy Rayon to artillery bombardment. There are casualties among the civilian population.

According to the same source, forces of the Nagorno-Karabakh defense army are managing to hold back the enemy assault. There are reports of losses on both sides.

New First Deputy Defense Minister Appointed

NC2210221593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] By decree of the Armenian president, Lieutenant General Hrach Hmayaki Androsyan has been appointed Armenia's first deputy defense minister and chief of general staff. Lieutenant General Norat Grigori Ter-Grigoryants was relieved of this post at his own request.

Iran To Become Major Supplier of Coal, Gas

LD2310080393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0030 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, 23 October (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—According to a report from the independent newspaper GOLOS ARMENII [VOICE OF ARMENIA], the first 30 tonnes of high-quality coking coal has been delivered to Armenia from Iran, which will be used to keep technological processes going at the Yerevan and Armavir machine-tool building factories. The finished goods from these enterprises, which are in quite high demand in the neighboring country, will be used to pay for the fuel. In the future, Iran is to become one of the main suppliers of energy resources to Armenia—not just of coal, but of natural gas as well.

Yerevan Stock Exchange Begins Trial Operation

NC2210135393 Yerevan SNARK in English 0842 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, October 22 (SNARK)—Today the Yerevan stock exchange begins its trial dealings. It is going to sell not only new Russian rouble, U.S. dollar and Deutsch Mark, but also the Ukrainian karbovanets and the Kyrgyz som.

Speaking to the Yerevan TV Seyran Seyranian, head of the stock exchange, said that the stock exchange will start in May 1994. "I am sure the Yerevan stock exchange will become the most authorized one in Transcaucasia", said Seyranian.

Azerbaijan

Armenia Reportedly Shells Nakhichevan Region

LD2310193193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the zone of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has once again become aggravated. According to information from Azerbaijan's Ministry of Defense, Armenian artillery shelled the territory of the Sadarakskiy rayon of Nakhichevan last night. Armenian armed forces continue to concentrate along the border with the Kazakhskiy and Zangelanskiy rayons.

The LUR agency in turn reported today from Stepanakert on the offensive of the Azerbajani Army in the Fizulinskiy and Dzhebrailskiy rayons.

The Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh Ministry of Defense has circulated a statement which accuses Azerbaijan of breaking the cease-fire.

Yerevan: Units From Turkey Attack Nakhichevan Post

NC2210141593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Baku Radio has cited Nakhichevan's REAL news agency as reporting that last weekend terrorist groups from Turkey attacked the customs post in Sadarak Rayon of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. For that reason, the crossings at that post were temporarily

stopped. The news agency quotes the Nakhichevan Customs Committee as saying that the post resumed work after a three-day closure. At present the situation is calm there, and the Turkish side has beefed up the control in that area.

Armenia Reportedly Preparing Large-Scale Offensive

LD2310040993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1747 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By AZERTADZH correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku, 22 Oct—The press service of the president of Azerbaijan issued a statement this evening about a new large-scale offensive being prepared by Armenian Armed Forces "in at least two directions: in the Tovuz-Gazakh and Geranboy direction." The statement circulated by the Azerbaijan Telegraph Agency, speaks of Armenia's Armed Forces becoming significantly more active along the border with Azerbaijan. Fighting equipment and military formations are concentrating on Armenia's territory bordering the Gazakhskiy, Tovuzskiy, and Agstafinskiy Rayons of the republic, the document notes.

At the same time, the president's press service reports, subdivisions of the Armenian Army are also being redeployed in the occupied territories of Agderinskiy and other rayons in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, while accumulating equipment and men along the Gyulyustan-Talysh sector and on the approaches to the Terterskiy Rayon.

Baku Tells UN of Readiness To Extend Cease-Fire

LD2210190893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1833 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations October 22 TASS—The Republic of Azerbaijan declared that it is prepared to extend the available agreement on ceasefire for up to six months without any preliminary conditions from either side, the Azeri Minister of Foreign Affairs Gasan Gasanov said in a letter circulated in United Nations headquarters as a document of the Security Council.

The letter confirms Azerbaijan's readiness to continue consultations in accordance with the CSCE's Minsk group aimed at implementing Resolutions 822 and 853 on Nagorno-Karabakh adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations.

Azerbaijan believes that the Minsk group's plan for action must include measures of military and political character to guarantee the return of occupied Azeri territories, Gasanov said.

Karabakh Leader Concerned Over Resolution's Wording

LD2210190193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Against the background of relative calm in the zone of the Azerbaijan-Karabakh conflict, incidents are still occurring on some sectors of the front. However, the attention of the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership was today focused on the process of settling the conlict via the CSCE-UN mission.

Karen Baburyan, the chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet, sent a note to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, in which he expressed satisfaction over the fact that the Karabakh problem remains in the United Nation's focus of attention. The letter also expresses concern over the fact that certain references in the UN resolution may nullify the accords already reached. We consider to be completely unacceptable, the letter says, the use of the wording in the resolution "Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Azerbaijan Republic" and we view this as an attempt to predetermine the question of the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. [video shows tank, panorama of local terrain, man in white shirt being interviewed, locals going about everyday chores]

Karabakh Claims Baku 'Dragging Out' Peace Talks

LD2210191193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh leadership has accused the Azerbaijani authorities of dragging out the peace talks. According to a Karabakh spokesman, Baku is trying to wreck the cease-fire agreement, which expires at the beginning of November. According to the timetable, it is proposed to hold talks before 25 October and achieve a settlement on extending a moratorium on hostilities.

Baku Ponders Georgian Request for Aid

MK2210142593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 p 3

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report under the "Transcaucasus" rubric: "Tbilisi Fights Zviadists and Waits for Help. Russian Tanks Appeared in the Area of Hostilities. Armenian and Azerbaijani Battalions Do Not Hurry To Guard Railway in Western Georgia"]

[Text] "The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has so far received no instructions from the political leadership as to Mr. Shevardnadze's appeal to assign troops for the protection of communications in western Georgia," Azad Isa-zade, chief of the Information Analytical

Center, told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent. In his words, presently the forming of a peacekeeping contingent to be sent to the area of hostilities in western Georgia is out of the question, but if this order is nonetheless given, the Defense Ministry will take all the requisite steps to carry out the peacekeeping mission in Georgia. At the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, your correspondent was also unable to find out how seriously Baku is taking the Georgian leader's plea.

According to local observers, the republic's leaders will not rush to make a decision on the issue, because so far it is hard to predict how successful the joint participation of Armenian and Azerbaijani contingents in the peacekeeping action may be, given that relations between the two countries, to put it mildly, have not been straightened out. President Geydar Aliyev will also find it hard to convince the Azerbaijani public that a country that has lost around 20 percent of its territory during the five-year Karabakh war should be involved in the mission.

Request Still Pending

NC2310142293 Baku TURAN in English 1044 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Baku October 23 (TURAN)—The official Baku have not given an answer to the appeal of Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, on rendering military assistance for protection of Poti-Tbilisi-Baku Rail-road communications.

As TURAN agency was told at the press-center of the president, such a long silence is explained by the fact, that 'the question is very complicated and demands a detailed examination'.

Together with this, as a reliable source in the presidential team told TURAN agency, within last days G. Aliyev had a number of phone talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, during which the situation in Georgia, as well as the questions of rendering humanitarian assistance to Tbilisi were discussed.

Possibility of Return of Russian Troops Viewed

MK2210130093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 14/16, 22-28 Oct 93 (signed to press 21 Oct 93) p 2

[Seyfali Akhundov report under the "Army" rubric: "They Have Left To Come Back"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] According to information from various sources, Baku is pressing for bringing Russian troops to Azerbaijan in order to subsequently take control over them.

Azerbaijan was the first and, until recently, the only, post-Soviet republic from which all Russian troops were withdrawn—as early as at the beginning of 1992. An exception was made only in the case of the personnel maintaining the mothballed radar station in Gambal, and in the case of the Gyandzha airborne division. Talks were in progress for one year on the joint operation of a system covering the Near East and Central Asia. They were cut short by the well-known events in this Transcaucasus republic. The talks were to resume on 18 October. Your OBSHCHAYA GAZETA correspondent, however, was told at the Azerbaijan Republic Embassy in Moscow that the Azerbaijani side appeared unprepared for them, and the meeting was postponed.

During his September visits to Moscow Geydar Aliyev met with the Russian defense minister. It has become known from circles close to the president of Azerbaijan that he discussed with Pavel Grachev behind closed doors the possibility of bringing Russian troops to the republic.

Vladimir Kazimirov, personal envoy of the Russian president in the Karabakh conflict zone, answering a question from your OBSHCHAYA GAZETA correspondent, did not rule out the possibility of bringing Russian troops into the zone of hostilities in the capacity of disengagement forces. In Kazimirov's opinion, such forces are capable of enforcing effective measures to separate the opposing sides. Kazimirov stated that he had no information on the signing between Russia and Azerbaijan of a secret agreement on bringing Russian armed forces into the republic.

Vladimir Nikanorov, acting chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Department for Information and the Press, denies the presence in Azerbaijan of Russian servicemen and equipment transferred there in recent days. At the same time it is being reported from Baku: The Russian flag is already flying on the army barracks in the population center of Nasosnyy, near Baku, while the Salyanskiye barracks in the capital are being readied to accommodate Russian servicemen. Russian Air Force transport planes landing at the military airfield near Gyandzha are bringing equipment and personnel.

Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of Russia's border troops, is expected to visit Baku on 29 October for the signing of an agreement on joint protection of the Iran-Azerbaijan border. Such things became possible after Azerbaijan's admission to the CIS and the signing by the republic of the Collective Security Treaty.

Oil Agreement With Kazahkstan Canceled

NC2210090093 Baku TURAN in English 1359 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Text] Baku (October 21) TURAN—State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic [SOCAR] annulled the agreement on delivery of oil from Kazakhstan.

In line with that agreement Kazakhstan from the beginning of the year had to deliver 700,000 tons of oil. But the parties could not realize achieved agreement because of disagreement in prices.

Vice-Premier of SOCAR Rafig Mirzoyev told, the company was compelled to annul the agreement as Kazakhstani Government insisted on making the price of 1 ton 51,500 roubles.

Ton of Azeri oil is more qualitative and its price is 6000 roubles. That's why we did not back proposal of Kazakhstani Government, told vice president.

Georgia

Government-Zviadist Forces Continue Clashes in West

State Troops Capture Samtredia

LD2210135993 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1140 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Samtredia, 22 Oct.—According to reports supplied by the press service of the Georgian Defense Ministry, clashes between government troops and armed units loyal to Zviad Gansakhurdia took place near the village of Dapnari late last night. Government troops destroyed several pickets of the opposite side and took six men prisoners.

At dawn this morning, government troops started a large-scale offensive in the direction of Samtredia and after a short but tenacious fighting they occupied the town and the adjacent areas.

Armed units subordinate to Zviad Gamsakhurdia retreated in the direction of Abasha rayon.

At the moment (1330) local fighting continues near the village of Dapnari.

[Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian at 1140 GMT on 22 October, in an Abasha- datelined story, further reported on a telphone conversation the news agency had with the "commandant" of the Abasha Rayon. According to the commandant, Gamsakhurdia's forces maintain control of the area: "At about 1000, government troops started an offensive to seize Samtredia. According to reports received at 1200, battles between government troops and armed units loyal to Gamsakhurdia were being waged in the area of the village of Dapnari."]

Zviadists Reach Ajaria's Border

LD2210143893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1308 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimire Mezentsev from Batumi—recorded]

[Text] The forces of supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia have reached the borders of Ajaria. Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Ajaria Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet, told me that Vakhtang Kobalia's forces have entered Guria, Shevardnadze's home. They did not, however, occupy the town of Ozurgeti, bordering on Ajaria. The fact is that many Ajarian emigres, who were left homeless because of natural disasters, live there. They appealed to Abashidze to mediate between the leadership of the town and Vakhtang Kobalia. Aiming to make secure the borders of the autonomous region and to prevent Ajaria from being dragged into the fratricidal carnage, Abashidze held telephone conversations with Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters. They agreed not to take troops into Ozurgeti and to preserve the existing authority in the town. This can be seen as an act of good will enabling the war to be shifted away from Ajaria's borders. In spite of this, official Tbilisi ordered Ozurgeti Mayor Gia Gogiberidze to attack Kobalia's troops from the rear. The town's mayor is reported to have decided to resign from his post. Today, Vakhtang Kobalia's troops entered Ozurgeti without a single shot being fired. Lieutenant Colonel Vazha Trapaidze, head of the town police, told me that no resistance was offered. Order is being observed in the town.

Zviadists Abandoning Positions

LD2210143193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1408 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By GIA-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Oct—Georgian Government forces are continuing their offensive in several directions against the positions of the supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The press center of the Georgian Defense Ministry announced that the Zviadist units are abandoning their positions one by one. According to the same information, Loti Kobalia, the leader of the armed formations of supporters of the ex-president, has ordered his units "to retreat in an organized manner, not to abandon their weapons and to go off into the woods."

State Troops Clear Batumi-Samtredia Road

LD2210164893 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1500 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Oct—Vladimer Chikovani, commander-in-chief of Georgia's interior troops told an IBERIA correspondent that after state troops had recaptured Samtredia, armed formations loyal to Gamsakhurdia were fleeing their old positions in panic, leaving behind their arms and heavy equipment.

It is noteworthy that the state troops were acting in an organized manner while launching an offensive.

The state units are successfully clearing the Batumi-Samtredia highway.

State Troops Take Dapnari

LD2210181793 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Soso Margishvili, head of Georgia's Defense Ministry press center, told the CONTACT News Agency at 1900, that this morning the state forces cleared the town of Samtredia.

State troops advanced to the Tskhenistskali River. As a result of a successful attack carried out under the supervision of General Gela Chumburidze of the 1st Army Corps of Georgia's Defense Ministry, the enemy lost two tanks, two armored personnel carriers, two Grad installations, one antiaircraft installation Shilka, several antiaircraft guns, and a large quantity of ammunition. Several fighters were taken prisoner.

On the same day, the Defense Ministry groups led by Colonel Gakhokidze, launched an attack from Vazisubani against the village of Dapnari and occupied it. The enemy retreated across the Tskhenistskhali River.

Lanchkuti Returning to Normal

LD2310141693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Major Soso Margishvili, head of Georgia's Defense Ministry press center, this morning has told the CONTACT News Agency that last night was quiet [place not given]. No positional changes in the warring sides' forces have been reported. The frontline now runs along the Tskhenistskali River. [passage omitted]

The CONTACT News Agency this morning has received a report from Lanchkhuti, that the rayon administration has commenced operations. Establishments are functioning. Railway traffic has been restored. The local police are carrying out operational measures to expose the remaining gangs.

Zviadists Given Ultimatum in Senaki

LD2310121593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Georgian Government troops are continuing their offensive in the Martvilskiy Rayon, as well as in the towns of Lanchkhuti and Ozurgeti. According to Interfax information, supporters of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia are effectively not offering resistance. At the same time, government troops have reached the outskirts of the town of Senaki. There were no combat operations there last night or this morning, but the town has been given an ultimatum: That the town be surrendered without fighting by 1400 today, otherwise the assault will begin. [video shows firing by hidden artillery piece; soldiers moving store of artillery rounds; field gun with soldier running for cover; Zviadist troops; tracer fire from hidden heavy weapon]

Samtredia Under Rebel Fire

LD2310175893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1602 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 23 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—Nodar Dzneladze, chairman of the municipal authority in the town of Samtredia [name and title as received], told the Georgian Information Agency (GIA) today that armed supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia had subjected the town to artillery bombardment. According to the chairman of the authority, civilians have been wounded, and several residential buildings have been razed to the ground. Samtredskiy [Samtredia] Rayon has been left without water because of damage to a water main.

In Khonskiy [Khoni] rayon, GIA reports, the situation is gradually returning to normal. Bread baking resumed here today with flour brought in from Kutaisi, although there are still problems with fuel and transport.

Dzhaba Ioseliani, a member of the Georgian Supreme Council [also head of the "Mkhedrioni" militia and chairman of the recently- established Provisional Committee for the State of Emergency], has asserted in a television interview that government forces are continuing to attack the Zviadists' [Gamsakhurdia supporters'] positions, while at the same time giving "a last chance to those who are, in effect, using arms against the Georgian people. If they do not think again and end their resistance, there will be no mercy." This statement was reported today by the BGI [abbreviation as received, given in English] Agency.

Asked by journalists to comment on recent reports that an arrest warrant had been issued for Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Teimuraz Stepanov, an aide to the Georgian head of state, has observed that "it would be good if the criminals were to be arrested and sentenced. However, for now this is just a pious hope." In Stepanov's opinion, "the Gamsakhurdia factor could be described as a trump card for certain forces, and as long as they can use it for certain political ends, they will do so."

Zviadists Continue To Control Poti

LD2310204793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 23 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Georgian Security Minister Igor Giorgadze acknowledged this evening that the port of Poti is under the control of Gamsakhurdia supporters. For this reason the government of Georgia is unable to guarantee the safety of railway transportation along the Poti-Tbilisi line and further to Armenia and Azerbaijan.

State Troops Concentrate in Poti Area

LD2410131093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to news agency reports, hostilities continue in western Georgia. The government forces concentrate on the Poti section. The Georgian leader's press center reports that the town of Samtredia, occupied by government troops, has come under artillery fire from the populated area of Abasha.

The press service of the head of the Georgian state has categorically denied the rumors being spread in Batumi that the government troops intend to occupy Ajarian territory.

The majority of Georgian parliamentarians have approved Eduard Shevardnadze's decree on Georgia joining the CIS, Teymuraz Stepanov, aide to the head of the Georgian state, has said in an interview with POST-FACTUM. Stepanov said that since parliament had been dissolved for the period of the state of emergency, an opinion poll was carried out to establish the deputies' views on the matter.

State Forces Enter Abasha

LD2410160093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1454 GMT 24 Oct 93

[By GIA for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 Oct—This afternoon Georgia's government forces overcame the opposition of supporters of the ex-president and entered the settlement of Abasha, the GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports. "There are casualties on both sides", the GIA correspondent was informed by Kutaisi Mayor Teimuraz Shashiashvili.

Abasha 'Relatively Calm'

LD2510122193 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1000 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Text] We have been told from Abasha that it was relatively calm there this morning. Hostilities continued after the capture [by government forces] of the town yesterday. The ex-president's supporters again assaulted the town after 3 o'clock. Our fighters responded adequately by destroying a large amount of military equipment and seizing ammunition.

People have already returned to the streets. They are complaining about evil deeds committed by the ex-president's supporters. Bread is not being baked in Abasha. It is being sent there from Samtredia and Kutaisi.

Government fighters have taken a rest and are now getting ready to go to Zugdidi. The local government started to function today.

Abasha rayon has now been completely mopped up of the ex- president's supporters.

State Forces Take Marani, Bandza

LD2410170993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Text] Major Soso Margishvili, head of the Georgian Defense Ministry press center, told the CONTACT news agency at 1800 that at 0730 today, government forces which included officer cadets from the Defense Ministry training center in Gori, the Tianeti and Rustavi reconnaissance battalions of the 1st Army Corps, Gori police units, and members of the 12th Brigade started a successful offensive toward Abasha.

After heavy fighting, the government troops seized the village of Marani. At 1330 they entered and took control of the town of Abasha. Having taken Abasha, the government troops continued their offensive in the direction of the Tekhuri River. The opposing side lost three tanks in the fighting, as well as an infantry combat vehicle, an anti-tank installation, a GAZ-66 truck, and two cross-country vehicles. The opposing side suffered casualties.

Also today, one of the opposing side's units attempted to launch an attack with heavy equipment on the town of Martvili from the north. However, the attack was stopped 3 km from Martvili by a forward detachment of the Defense Ministry's 11th Brigade led by Lieutenant Colonel Zviad Samkharauli. After a brief clash the opposing side retreated with losses. Members of the Defense Ministry special purpose directorate discovered two tanks which the opposing side had abandoned as it retreated.

In addition, units of the 11th Brigade took control of the village of Bandza.

Fighting is continuing near the Tekhuri River at the moment.

State Troops Advance on Senaki

LD2410194293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1915 GMT 24 Oct 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi October 24 TASS—Georgian government troops captured on Sunday the town of Abash and are presently advancing upon the town of Senaki, a major military center in the western province of Mingrelia, which is the power base of Georgia's ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Senaki is the last stronghold of Gamsakhurdia's rebels on the approaches to Zugdidi. The advancing forces are backed by armoured vehicles, long-range artillery, "Grad" missile launchers and attack aviation.

Meanwhile, the situation on the approaches to the Black Sea port of Poti have not changed considerably over the past twenty-four hours. The city is still held by Zviadist

units led by Vakhtang Kobalia. They have tanks, armoured personnel carriers, howitzers and enough ammunition at their disposal. Rebel forces are also in control of a strategically important bridge near the village of Maltakva situated between the Black Sea and Lake Paleostomi. This may hamper an assault by government troops from the southern side of Poti.

Military sources do not rule out that government forces will launch flank attacks upon Zviadists from the south and the north to encircle the major sea port. But this will be possible only after the troops seize Senaki.

State Forces Recapture Poti

LD2510105393 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1000 GMT 25 Oct 93

[Text] The press center of Shevardnadze's [words indistinct] apparatus has told us that the ex-President's [Gamsakhurdia's] supporters left the town of Poti this morning. The town is now controlled by government forces.

By decree of the head of state, Murman Tsakadze, the head of the town's security service department, has been appointed acting mayor of Poti. He has also been charged to head the town police department.

Measures are being implemented to restore order and detain criminals.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia Forces' Setbacks Viewed

PM2210142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 7

[Mikhail Lolidze report: "Georgia: Zviadists Retreat"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Georgian government forces inflicted the first serious blow on the Zviadist formations in Western Georgia on Wednesday. The press secretariat for Georgia's leader put out a statement saying that antigovernment formations lost 40 men killed and as many wounded on the approaches to the resort city of Tskhaltubo 20 October. Toward Van 10 men were killed. Several tanks and artillery mounts were destroyed. Government troops cleared the city of Lanchkhuti of the enemy and approached the city of Khoni.

The press secretariat's statement emphasized that vigorous actions against Zviad Gamsakhurdia's formations will continue. Here joint actions are not ruled out after Eduard Shevardnadze's appeal to the Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani leaders. Many people in Georgia have hastened to link the Georgian troops' successes with the assistance the Russian military are giving them. But Major General Yuriy Baluyevskiy, chief of staff of the group of Russian forces in the Transcaucasus, stated in a conversation with me that there are no directives from the Russian Ministry of Defense to assist the Georgian forces.

Nevertheless, Georgian television transmitted a piece on tanks belonging to Russian troops appearing in Kutaisi. Commenting on this report, representatives of the headquarters of the group of Russian forces stated that the combat equipment was carrying out exclusively internal tasks connected with escorting a column of Russian troops from a subunit being withdrawn from Kutaisi and did not participate in the military operations.

The Georgian Prosecutor's Office has sanctioned in advance the arrest of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the leader of the armed formations Vakhtang Kobaliya for organizing illegal formations which are a threat to Georgia's territorial integrity, betraying the homeland, robbery, murder, and looting in Poti and Samtredia, which fighters from the pro-Gamsakhurdia detachments are responsible for.

But the opposition to Eduard Shevardnadze in Tbilisi cannot reconcile itself to the fact that preference is being shown for combat action in Western Georgia. Representatives of the opposition society named for the Georgian writer Ilya Chavchavadze, which has seven seats in parliament, called yesterday for negotiations with the Zviadists and for new parliamentary elections to be held. They are the same deputies who are speaking out against Georgia joining the CIS as they consider that the Commonwealth will limit Georgia's political and economy freedom.

The Ilya Chavchavadze Society used the term Eduardism yesterday, equating it with Zviadism as "two sides of the same coin—this idolatry which is destroying Georgia." It has been noted that 80 of 219 deputies have said "no" to Georgia joining the CIS.

Roundup of Shevardnadze's Activities in October

Forms Commission on Abkhazia Prisoners

AU2410213293 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 14 Oct 93 p 3

["Edict of the Georgian Head of State on the Commission To Study Questions Concerning Prisoners of War, Hostages, and Persons Missing Without Trace"; date not given]

[Text] The perfidious violation of the [Sochi cease-fire] agreement of 27 July by the Abkhazian side resulted in an escalation of combat activities. Many servicemen were taken captive, thousands of Georgians and non-Georgians comprising the peaceful population were held as hostages, hundreds of military men, volunteers, and peaceful citizens were killed, and there was a significant increase in the number of persons missing without trace.

Proceeding from the situation that has taken shape:

1. To create a commission to study questions concerning prisoners of war, hostages, and persons missing without trace. To appoint Aleksandr Kavsadze, chairman of the

Republic of Georgia Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Interethnic Relations, as chairman of the commission.

2. To view as expedient the participation in the work of the commission of the ministries of defense, internal affairs, health protection, and communications, the Information and Intelligence Service, the republic's Procurator's Office, the Committee for Refugees and Resettlement, the State Television and Radio Corporation, the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Interethnic Relations, and the Georgian Red Cross Association. The heads of these ministries and departments are to dispatch senior officials to the commission and ensure it is brought up to strength.

3. To entrust the commission to attempt to find prisoners of war, hostages, those killed, and persons missing without trace and draw up precise lists, conduct negotiations with the Abkhazian side on the release of prisoners and hostages, the transfer of corpses for burial, and the search for persons missing without trace, and establish business-like contacts with the UN and EC missions and the International Red Cross and utilize their potential to the full.

4. To create standing working groups attached to the commission on the basis of the Republic of Georgia Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Interethnic Relations. To entrust the coordination of the activities of the commission and the working groups to Aleksandr Kavsadze, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Interethnic Relations.

5. The republic's ministries and departments are to render effective assistance to the commission. The State Security Service (I. Andriadze), the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Communications (P. Injia), and the Automobile Transport Department (G. Gogichaishvili), are to provide the commission with means of transportation and communication at their request.

6. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Finances (D. Iakobidze) to take into account compensation for the material expenses connected with the activities of the commission.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze.

Appeals to Israel for Help

LD2210205293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze today appealed to Israel for help, after appealing to the United States. For his part, former Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia today sent a message to the United Nations demanding that Shevardnadze's junta and the increase in Russian troops in the conflict zone be condemned.

Signs Decree on Joining CIS

LD2310102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0954 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 23 Oct—Georgia is joining the Commonwealth of Independent States. Eduard Shevardnadze has signed a decree to this effect on Friday night on the basis of opinions of the majority of the members of the republic's parliament. The supreme legislative organ of the republic suspended its activities in mid- September for two months, therefore the decision on Georgia joining the CIS was taken, not at the plenary session of the parliament, but by way of an opinion poll conducted among the parliamentary members.

At the same time, the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has sent a note to the Republic of Belarus in which it asks the Belarus Government—as a keeper of the CIS Statute—to inform the other CIS member states about Georgia's decision.

Discusses Present Situation

LD2410161393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1220 GMT 24 Oct 93

[TV satellite interview with head of state Eduard Amrosiyevich Shevardnadze by Andrey Skryabin, observer for Ostankino Television; Lyudmila Telen, observer for MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; and Yuliy Semenov, observer for Mayak Radio; interviewers in Moscow studio, Shevardnadze's location not given; from the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Text] [Skryabin] [video shows him in the studio] Hello, esteemed viewers. Today in Live Dialogue you will meet Eduard Amrosiyevich Shevardnadze, head of the Republic of Georgia. [video shows very tired Shevardnadze in an unidentified room or studio, place not given] Eduard Amrosiyevich, good day. Allow me to thank you for finding time to meet our viewers and to take part in our program in such a difficult time for Georgia. Let me present to you those who are going to work with me today: Lyudmila Telen, observer for MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; and Yuliy Semenov, observer for Mayak radio station. I am Andrey Skryabin, observer for Ostankino Television. [video shows close-ups of the panel in the studio. Shevardnadze is visible to the panel on a screen in the same studio]

I would like to remind you that our telephone number in Moscow is 217-45-63. You can phone in and put your questions to the head of the Republic of Georgia.

I would like perhaps, to begin straight away with a question that worries all of us today. Before we came to the studio, all of us on the panel of course listened to the news reports on what is going on in Georgia.

It would be interesting to know from first hand how you assess the situation that has emerged in your homeland today.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you very much. First, I greet all of you Oleg Georgiyevich [corrects himself] Andrey Georgiyevich, Yuliy Aleksandrovich, and Lyudmila Olegovna, and all the viewers who have gathered at this moment at their TV screens.

It is very difficult to talk briefly about the situation in Georgia today. It is extremely complex. It is known that after the tragic events in Abkhazia, as a result of which thousands of people have been killed and huge streams of refugees have formed—that means tens of thousands of people—all in all nearly 200,000 have now moved from Abkhazia to Georgia after being forced to leave their homes and territories. Another tragic event has added to this: The anti-state, anti-people—that is what I would call it—actions by the supporters of the former president who have actually aggravated the situation in our state to the extreme.

True, in the last few days we have seen certain trends that I am sure will lead to an improvement in the general situation in western Georgia and in the whole of our state, but the situation remains very complex, very complex indeed. One has to add to that the deep economic crisis, the very high level of inflation, the rather complex criminal situation—generally the situation is not at all simple. In view of this, we were compelled to impose a state of emergency in Georgia. A curfew is operating in certain towns. By adopting these temporary methods and the well-known restrictions, we are aiming, as you know, to stabilize the general situation. That is how I would sum up the general situation in Georgia.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Semenov] Eduard Amrosiyevich: This is the first time you have appeared live on our...[changes thought] since you signed the decree on Georgia's entry into the CIS, the Commonwealth of Independent States. Naturally this is arousing reactions, international reactions, and the step is being interpreted in different ways: Either as a kind of logical decision by Georgia resulting from the events of the last few months, or as a sharp change of direction linked with an aspiration to receive aid from Commonwealth states. So what is it, a logical step, or a sharp change of direction, and was any pressure exerted on you, particularly at the meeting between the four leaders from the Caucasian states and Russia in the Kremlin, which was held, I think, on 8 October?

[Shevardnadze] I think it was both a logical step and, in a sense, a sharp change of direction. During the initial stage of my work in Georgia I regarded this problem with some caution, taking account of the general mood and public opinion here. But after the situation became more complex in Abkhazia and in Georgia as a whole, following the unsuccessful attempts to establish closer, what I used to call special relations with Russia and other states, which earlier belonged to the former Soviet Union, and especially following the dramatic events in Sukhumi, where I remained until the very last hours, the last minutes when the town fell, I made the decision to enter the Commonwealth.

I am sorry, but it is silly to talk of any kind of pressure. There is not a country and neither is there a leader who could exert pressure to force a decision to be taken, especially a decision so serious and so crucial. As you said, it was truly a logical continuation of the policy that we embarked on, a policy of integration, and here I do not just mean economic and financial and so forth, with the world community and especially with Russia and other countries including the Commonwealth.

Such a decision is not taken overnight, of course. I thought about it a great deal and tried to take a cool look at all the options. I concluded that at this stage of the development of Georgian society, this is the sole correct and sensible decision.

[Telen] Eduard Amvrosyevich, to what extent does this move reflect public opinion in Georgia? Secondly, do you fear that it will make your position in Georgia more difficult and that it will be used by your political opponents? Did you foresee this happening?

[Shevardnadze] Naturally, when I was thinking through this problem, I was mindful of the type and numbers of people who might not support it. I cannot swim against the tide. Therefore when I was reaching the decision and making up my mind, I was sure that about 60 percent of the public or more would support my decision.

After the announcement of my statement in Moscow, there was, naturally, a stormy reaction, in some cases a negative one, but over these past few days I think that public opinion has been shaping in the right direction, in other words, in favor of the decision that was made. Now, according to my observations and my calculations, approximately 75-80 percent of the population are, in principle, in favor of Georgia becoming a part of the Commonwealth. As far as negative attitudes—criticisms—on the part of the opposition are concerned, I think that this is a perfectly normal thing. It is a different matter when certain statements are of an impermissibly crude and insulting nature. But, in principle, we have political pluralism in our country, a state where a multi-party system exists and functions, and the fact that there is opposition, in a situation where such sudden changes are occurring, I think there is no need to be surprised at that—time will tell. I am certain and I am convinced that the correct step has been taken and the correct choice has been made.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Eduard Amvrosiyevich, we have information to the effect that the National Democratic Party has opposed Georgia entering the CIS, and this party is challenging for the role of the leading party, and they have partially submitted their resignation. Are you not afraid of being left without the backing of your supporters?

[Shevardnadze] Some supporters will leave and others will come in, and, with the changes being as sudden as they are, I think this is also a perfectly normal thing. I have worked quite successfully with this party and we are practically of the same mind on many other cardinal questions, on the development of our state and Georgian society. As far as this very important question is concerned, they have set out their position which, I would say—I would stress—is a negative one. But if you ask them today if there is complete freedom to enter and to leave this body—if you ask them that question I think they will say that to leave would not be a sensible thing to do. So, in principle, I think that they will take into account the fact that there was no other way out for us, not only in the sense of an enforced measure or an enforced step. I believe that this was not an enforced measure or an enforced step, it was a perfectly conscious act by the leaders of the state and, essentially, by the majority of the people and the majority in parliament.

[Shevardnadze] Incidentally, parliament was in a fairly difficult situation, but now that situation is improving and about 125 members of parliament, unless I am mistaken, agreed and signed to support my application to enter the CIS.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Semenov] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, we have a number of questions from viewers about your recent decision to join the CIS. In particular, Alla Konstantinovna Fedorova of Moscow wonders whether Georgia would have been spared civil war and the events in Abkhazia had it joined when the CIS was being formed.

[Shevardnadze] You know, most likely there would have been more chance of that, had Georgia been in the CIS from the very beginning. There would have been more opportunities to avoid the most terrible events that have taken place, especially in Abkhazia. But there are states in the CIS that have been unable to avert the worst. I mean Tajikistan. There have been problems in other countries as well. Now is not the time to think of that, but of how to become a full member of this Commonwealth and how to proceed so that joining is not just a formality but exerts a strong and positive effect on affairs in the Caucasus and in Georgia in particular, and so that Georgia's joining is also to the Commonwealth's benefit.

[Telen] Eduard Amvrosyevich, you have already touched on Russian-Georgian relations, and I would like to continue that theme. In particular, you have spoken on numerous occasions of the responsibility of certain Russian politicians and especially the military for exacerbating the conflict in Abkhazia, and of their complicity in inciting this conflict. But you have never named names. Is this because you do not have sufficient information to do so, or were there other reasons?

[Shevardnadze] I spoke out and described things as they were. The now ex-Supreme Soviet was known to be obstructive and negative toward Abkhazia and the conflict there, and also toward Georgian state interests in Abkhazia. Remember how many decisions, which should have been taken by the Russian leadership, were blocked by the Supreme Soviet. Remember how many times that problem was discussed, examined in quite unobjective conditions at sittings of the Supreme Soviet. There were well-known circles among the military who fuelled the dramatic events that happened in Abkhazia. I think after 3-4 October—incidentally, these events are very important and, I would say, have historic significance not only for Russia—I was prompted to take a stand, to take the decision that was spoken of in Moscow. So, it seems to me that since those forces that wanted to return Russia to a regime, to a totalitarian regime, to the old regime, left the political arena, we can speak now more boldly of effective, equal, neighborly and special relations with Russia, with Ukraine and with all other states that we are joined to by links of friendship going back decades.

[Skryabin] Thank you. If you allow me, I would like to remind you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, that speaking at the congress, back in the days of the USSR, you expressed unequivocally, the thought that a coup was possible. What do you think—over these years, did politicians here in Russia take into account what you said then or not?

[Shevardnadze] I feel quite awkward speaking about that, about what happened after my speech, resignation—those well-known August events. As far as the present events are concerned, well, I said to a certain extent incidentally, I said that what was happening in Abkhazia would act like a boomerang against Russia itself—I meant those forces that you parted with on 3-4 October.

One does not need to have a special gift to be able to make forecasts. It is just that life and my observations, my analysis and conclusions were telling me it could not go on like this any longer. I think all the routes have been cleared now so that new, completely new, relations between the two states and between our peoples can be built.

[Telen] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you are saying that you hope for changes for the better in relations between Georgia and Russia. Could you please say, did you pin this hope on your appeal to Russia for military assistance? Also, another question connected with this.

Could you please say, do you think the only way to preserve the integrity of Georgia at present is to rely on Russia's help, inter alia on Russian military assistance?

[Skryabin] I would like to add to this [words indistinct] your appeal to the Caucasian and Russian leaders. Another group of questions—a large group—will the joining of the CIS help to resolve the Abkhazian problem?

[Shevardnadze] As for military assistance, the protection of the railway lines and roads was mostly under discussion in Moscow. These roads are of vital importance to Georgia and especially to Armenia. This is perhaps the only highway through which Armenia receives necessary foodstuffs, fuel and many other things. The same applies to Azerbaijan. It also shows certain interest in this respect since these routes are directly linked to the Black Sea. I must say in the same way Russia is also interested in the normal functioning of these routes.

In this connection, the decision was taken by the heads of four states to ensure the protection of these roads by joint collective efforts. Unfortunately, nothing has been done so far. Practically, nothing has been done so far. All we have been doing there—I mean the liberation of these regions and vitally important railway junctions—we have been doing on our own.

As for military assistance, the main issue we raised there was handing over the equipment to us, including military and other relevant equipment, which was supposed to belong to us. You know that in Moscow we signed all military agreements which have been in preparation for a rather long time. We signed—we undertook certain obligations and defined the status and conditions for the presence of the Russian Army units in Georgia. Naturally, Russia also undertook certain obligations. We are asking for what is supposed to belong to us to be handed over to us when needed. Thus, there is nothing unusual here, and we are not talking about military interference. What we are talking about here is joint collective efforts to protect the routes of vital importance. As for our cooperation, I think in the future similar problems might appear in other states, so if we help each other, there will be nothing wrong there.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Semenov] I would like to make our serious and very dramatic conversation a little more cheerful. Twenty years ago I went on holiday to Pitsunda. It sounds strange now. I remember you came there at the time. I remember you walking in a swift and energetic manner and everyone around you trembling. When the director of our canteen was talking to you he was so pale—I had never seen a person looking so pale before. Later I asked him: Givi, what did Shevardnadze tell you? He answered: Oh, it does not matter what he said—if I am not sacked or put in prison, it means everything is O.K.. As far as I remember, that time a GAI [state motor vehicle inspectorate] head was sacked, not him. The reason I have recalled all this is as follows. From somebody in Moscow who is close to you, I know how difficult it was for you to take the decision to go back to Georgia when envoys from there came to ask you to return. Do you have any regrets about taking the decision?

[Shevardnadze] I apologize, I did not answer the second question about Abkhazia—Georgia joining the Commonwealth and the Abkhazian problems. Naturally, by taking the decision, I expected certain support on the part of all the states of a peace solution of the Abkhazian problem. However, under the circumstances it is very difficult to talk about the peace solution or options of the peace solution after what has happened in Abkhazia itself and what has happened in the Svanetia mountains. You know that it was extremely difficult to rescue about 70-80,000 people and evacuate them, and many other things and all this suffering. However, one should try to find solutions to the problem. By joining the Commonwealth, naturally, I expected certain political, moral, and psychological support.

Regarding my return to my country, I have said many times that not a single, intelligent, well-known politician would do this. It is a mistake from the point of view of my personal interests as a politician and a statesmen who had a certain standing, so to speak. It is an extremely risky step and, in principle, it is a mistake. It is not that I regret it. If it is possible to talk about any kind of happiness under such conditions, then I am happy, because in the most difficult times—the most difficult days for my country—I am together with my people. So I am not tortured by any worries regarding choosing an incorrect path. I share all the burdens and dramatic events that are taking place in Georgia just now.

[Telen] I think it was when you became head of state that we met you last. I am talking about on Live Dialogue, on this program. At that time, we talked about the idea of creating a federal Georgia. As far as I remember, you believed then—and maybe you still believe it—that there are other ways to preserve the unity and integrity of Georgia. Unfortunately, events developed in a very dramatic way, even tragically, after this. Tell us please, what is your attitude today toward the idea of a federal system for Georgia? To what degree, in your view, is it viable?

[Shevardnadze] Then I answered—and I now want to confirm what I said—that it is premature to talk about a federal structure for Georgia. It is premature because very active, intensive work is being carried out on a new draft constitution. Incidentally, representatives of virtually all regions are on the commission, including people from Abkhazia and other regions. I think that we will manage to end this work before the end of the year. We have several versions—including a federative structure, a unitary state, and many other versions. I think that the question will be resolved via a referendum in the end. In any case, whatever decision, whatever version is chosen, I guarantee that the rights of all peoples, all citizens—including the rights of the Abkhazian people and Ossetians—will be protected. They will not only be protected, but everything will be done at the very highest level, taking into account world and European standards, contemporary standards.

[Semenov] On this basis, do you think a resumption of the dialogue with Abkhazia is feasible?

[Shevardnadze] I did not understand the question.

[Semenov] From this starting position, do you think it is possible that talks or a dialogue with Abkhazia, with the leadership of Abkhazia, can be resumed?

[Skryabin] Excuse me, I would like to add something. I have some questions from television viewers. Khachetlov from Kabardino- Balkaria asks: How do you propose to build mutual relations between Georgia and Abkhazia in the future? Will Abkhazia remain in Georgia, as part of Georgia?

What sort of political system will Abkhazia have? That is from Amnishvili from St. Petersburg. Chechibay from Abkhazia asks: What do you think about Abkhazia's future. And this question from Ninasyan in Moscow: What do you intend to undertake with respect to Abkhazia? When will Georgia be free from the Zviadists? Is the war in Abkhazia going to start again or not? That is what a refugee from Georgia is asking.

[Shevardnadze] I would like to say that, obviously, international organizations and representatives from the Commonwealth, to a certain extent, must investigate what happened and why it happened. Tens of thousands of people, thousands of people, have been killed. Hundreds of people have been shot, including people who were completely innocent. They were shot simply because they were Georgian—for this and for no other reason. They could not be accused of anything and cannot be. All this has to be investigated.

It has to be investigated fundamentally, so to speak. This is not just in the interests of Georgia—Georgians or Abkhazians—but it is in the interests of all other peoples who make up the Commonwealth, if you want to put it this way. Even with regard to the European and world dimension, this is an extremely important issue. It has to be investigated without delay. We are already discussing these issues,so to speak. We are holding a dialogue with many international organizations, and it seems that we will know in the near future where we stand on this.

As far as a dialogue is concerned, it seems to me that here Russia can and must play an indispensable role. In a certain sense, we are placing our hopes on the Russian leadership as to how the dialogue will develop. I do not mean with the leader of the present Abkhaz grouping. I mean with all the political figures in Abkhazia and especially those who have not shared and do not share those approaches of which you are aware.

[Semenov] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, you have already said that your main concern at the moment is the refugees. People are actually freezing in the mountains, and there are thousands of questions connected with this problem, including the people closest to them. What more can you tell us today regarding the chances of getting these people out, of giving them warmth and food, and regarding how other states of the Commonwealth can give them additional help with this whole set of problems?

[Shevardnadze] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, I would like to take advantage of today's program to convey words of thanks, of gratitude, to the leaders of Russia and the Ukraine, particularly, because they have indeed given us large-scale assistance by supplying helicopters, aircraft, specialists, and so on, and to Azerbaijan, Armenia, and many other states who have helped us and, essentially, ensured with relatively few losses the removal of these people from these mountains. There are hardly any left there now, only those who have relatives in the mountains, approximately as many as 1,500. We have managed to get the whole of the rest out of the area, which we have called a disaster area.

The arrangements that have been made for them are another question. Naturally, to accommodate and make arrangements for 200,000 people in the normal way is impossible. At the end of the day, western Georgia, by your standards, is just a plot of land. Therefore, we are hoping in the future that the necessary assistance will come in from Russia, the Ukraine, and our other neighbors, and from the world community. Incidentally, quite intensive assistance is coming in at the moment.

[Telen] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, there are a great many questions from viewers regarding your relations with Georgian ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Tell us, if you would, to what extent is the political struggle between you and Gamsakhurdia a struggle of views as to the path along which the Georgian state should develop, and to what extent is this a struggle of political concepts?

[Shevardnadze] You know, I would not call it a political struggle. What the ex-president is doing....[pauses] He is an ordinary adventurer. An ordinary adventurer, and I think that our people, the absolute majority of the people, understand all that. Therefore, what you called this political struggle, or however you describe it, has no future. The tragedy is that people are dying and suffering because political adventurers like Zviad Gamsakhurdia emerged earlier on. I think our people will be equal to this task.

[Telen] In your view, he cannot offer Georgia any positive program?

[Shevardnadze] He has no such program. He cannot have one because to have a program one needs an appropriate world vision, the appropriate training and principles. Unfortunately, I cannot say that he has anything to offer on that level.

[Skryabin] [words indistinct] questions from viewers that I have selected. Natalya Mikhaylovna Cherkova from Moscow wishes Abkhazia and Georgia could find a common language so that people do not suffer. Things should be done as they had been done. There are several questions connected with the referendum. Kozhemyakin from Moscow asks whether it would be worth holding a referendum to vote for a Georgian president. Marchikovani, a journalist from Moscow, asks: Why, alas, did

you not act as Aliyev did? Why are you afraid to hold a referendum? That is her wording. The question on the referendum.

[Shevardnadze] Actually, I said when these armed rebellions began, after Sukhumi and Zugdidi fell, I said then that I was ready to hold a referendum. The people did not support the idea, however. They did not support it because a referendum could be held on a serious question, but the main mass of people living in Georgia do not consider Gamsakhurdia a serious political figure. This is all the more so because he has no political platform; he has no principles based on any world vision. So my idea did not receive the necessary support from the people and will not receive it.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Here are some rapid-fire questions for you, if you do not object. Oleg Vasiliyevich Yakushevich from Moscow: Do you lay any claims to the Black Sea Fleet? If so, what do you intend to do with it?

[Shevardnadze] Naturally, the state of Georgia also has the right to lay claims to a certain share of it, but how should that be done? How should it be divided? How should that expensive pleasure—especially the Navy—be paid for? That is a difficult problem and, frankly speaking, we have not gotten around to that question yet. We have another fleet—a civilian fleet. It is quite a decent one. The Georgian marine fleet is now based in Batumi. There are roughly 35 to 40 ships of various categories. It is a very profitable enterprise. There is good organization. On the whole, it will probably engage in the construction of the civilian fleet.

[Skryabin] Here is a question that viewers and I are very interested in: Is it possible that Boris Yeltsin will visit Tbilisi in the foreseeable future, and when do you intend to visit the United States of America. You were invited there, and what do you intend to do there?

[Shevardnadze] As far as Boris Nikolayevich's visit is concerned, we have spoken of it frequently. Dates were set, but things happened that made it impossible for him and for us to fulfill that agreement. I think that the visit will take place, however. It is very difficult now to say when. It is no secret that a pre-election campaign is in full swing in Russia now. This stage is approaching. We have not spoken of specific dates yet, however.

Both of us are of the same opinion and want to sign a so-called big treaty on the principles of mutual relations between Russia and Georgia—specifically in Tbilisi with Boris Nikolayevich's participation. We have an agreement in principle on a visit to Georgia, if only a short visit, by Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin. I think that such a visit would also be very useful; however, it is difficult for me to say at the moment when that will be.

Regarding my visit to the United States, there is an invitation from the President of the United States. There are also invitations from the presidents of Turkey, Israel, and France and so on. The present situation, the present circumstances, render it impossible to make these very important visits just now.

They are of great importance, first of all, from the point of view of our economy. You know that our economy is in a sorry state now. Naturally, membership in the CIS does not resolve the problems, all the questions, automatically. If my colleagues and I manage to stabilize the situation in a relatively short time, then naturally I will consider these invitations.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much, Eduard Amvrosiyevich. In keeping with tradition, you have the last word as our program draws to an end.

[Shevardnadze] What would I like to say in conclusion? We said at the start of our conversation that a very big step had been taken, a correct and true step toward bringing us closer to Russia, to Russian society, to the state in Russia, and to all states of the Commonwealth. Therefore, in connection with this, I would like to address words of greeting and gratitude to all citizens of Russia, to all the people of Moscow, and to all who are watching and listening to us now.

I know that things are difficult now with regard to Abkhazia, to the civil war in Georgia. The people of Russia were with us. I received tens, hundreds of letters voicing support for the positive processes, for the decisions, for the general course leading to the construction of a democratic society, a democratic state. I thank and wish everybody—all the citizens of Russia—great success, great happiness, and very importantly, success in the test that is awaiting Russia in connection with the elections this December.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Thank you, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, for taking part in the program. Thank you, viewers. Until we meet again. All the best!

Addresses Government Officials

LD2410230893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 24 Oct 93

[Remarks by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze during a meeting of leaders of government ministers and agencies in Tbilisi on 24 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At today's meeting with leaders of ministries and agencies, the head of state gave his assessment of the situation in western Georgia:

[Shevardnadze] We may create a new official post, in order to investigate appropriately the crimes committed in Abkhazia and, at the same time, all (?heroic) deeds of the former president, both past and present.

The fact that Poti has been plundered and billions were stolen, the fact that Samtredia has been destroyed, the fact that western Georgian rayons have suffered damage....[pauses] It cost Georgia dearly. Hundreds of people were killed, hundreds were wounded, hundreds of houses

were destroyed, and so on. Everything should be accounted for. [words indistinct] everybody should know that we are dealing with Georgia's enemy, a [word indistinct] enemy of the Georgian people and an organizer of Georgia's genocide.

He is 80 percent responsible for the loss of Abkhazia. It happened because of him and his supporters and because of treachery. Abkhazia would not have been lost. We are speaking about a third force. Of course, all this should be taken into account, but the main factor was treachery. This must be made public.

At the same time, I would like you to establish these facts. [words indistinct] people are suffering here, and money is being sent there at the same time so that they live in luxury. All this must be established. You have the resources to do it. [words indistinct] Georgia must know the truth. [words indistinct]

[Announcer] [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] I would like to use this opportunity to address Kobalia's units, which are getting ready for new battles and clashes with the Georgian Armed Forces. I would like to tell them that this is a hopeless enterprise. Many have already drawn conclusions. Certain groups have been surrendering weapons to the government troops since the day before yesterday. They will not be prosecuted.

Those who have not committed murders and spilled blood as murderers will be granted reprieves. They will return to their families, regardless of where they come from—be it Samegrelo, Imereti, Guria, Kakheti, Kartli, and so on. Everybody will return to their families. We will help them to begin a normal life as soon as possible.

I would like to request of them and call on them to lay down their weapons, to hand over their weapons to the state, to our troops, to stop their resistance, and to contribute to establishing peace among Georgians. This is quite feasible. I cannot see issues or problems that we should not tackle jointly. There are no such issues.

If they made a mistake, this happened only because this movement was led by the former president and like-minded people. One group of people [words indistinct]. I have Gamsakhurdia, Kobalia, and several others in mind. This will not be score-settling with those who just took part in the fighting.

Georgians will reconcile with each other. [words indistinct] however, we will get rid of the unwanted flesh. This does not apply to [word indistinct] members, some commanders who were (?temporarily) drawn into this. I call on them—they are getting ready to fight in Poti, Senaki, Zugdidi and so on—to make a timely decision. Make the necessary decision before it is too late.

The authorities will not turn back. We have chosen a line against—I do not what to call them—the Zviadists or something else. To be precise, these can be called traitors, Georgia's traitors. Activities of Georgia's traitors must be stopped. Georgia and Samegrelo will be together. Georgia was and will be united, with this most beautiful region of our country as its part. [word indistinct] fighters must take this into account. They must not sacrifice themselves and spill blood in vain, be it their own blood or others'. They must take this into account [words indistinct].

It would be good if what I am saying now is broadcast by radio, so that everybody can hear it. We are not interested in any revenge. We are not being guided by principles of revenge. What has happened is over. Surrender, and the authorities will be merciful to you. Return to your homes [words indistinct] and try to find your place in life. (?This does not apply to) the former president, who is guilty before his country and his people.

[Words indistinct] Kobalia. (?I have to make public that) I had a three-hour meeting with him. [Words indistinct] I told him everything. [words indistinct]

Georgians have fired at other Georgians in Ochamchire Rayon. Many of you know about this. Twenty-five people were killed when his (?forces) opened fire on boys with whom they were to go into attack [words indistinct]. They are responsible for the 25 lives lost in that incident.

As for the rest who found themselves dragged into this calamity, as I said, they will be treated in a way befitting a (?civilized) authority and government. [passage indistinct]

No one should interpret this as if there were only Mingrelians involved. There is Soso Zhghenti, and there are others from Kartli, Kakheti, Guria, Imereti. [passage indistinct]

This is a plague with an international contribution. There are Chechens, Cossack mercenaries, and many others involved in it. By the way, I have been told that in a couple of rayons in Mingrelia there was almost a rebellion when Chechens had appeared. What do they want? What have they come for?

Our representatives should be sent immediately to Martvili, Khoni, Samtredia, where good order is necessary. Ozurgeti should be seriously looked after, by the way. Lanchkhuti should be very seriously looked after. [words indistinct] something may happen in Abasha today. [words indistinct] Senaki and others.

Issues Ultimatum to Zviadist Forces

LD2510100793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Georgia is the only trouble spot from which we have received a report so far today. The leader of this republic, Eduard Shevardnadze, has issued an ultimatum to the forces loyal to ex-President Gamsakhurdia, warning them to lay down their weapons and stop

the pointless resistance. He gave a guarantee of immunity to anybody who surrenders voluntarily. The ultimatum stresses that this guarantee of immunity will not be extended to Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his closest associates, who must go on trial. [passage omitted]

Government Denies Rumors of Troops' Entering Ajara

LD2210192393 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The press center of the head of the state of Georgia denied the rumors about the alleged impending entry of the republic's state troops in Ajara. The press center is authorized to declare that this is yet another piece of misinformation aimed at a further exacerbation of the critical situation that the republic is in.

Security Minister Claims Chechens Aiding Zviadists

LD2310135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1327 GMT 23 Oct 93

[By the GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 23 Oct.—In an interview with Georgian television, Georgian Security Minister Igor Giorgadze said today that he had information that Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev intended to help armed supporters of Georgian ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He said there was a rather large detachment of Chechens in the town of Zugdidi at present, and attempts were being made to help the Zviadists with military equipment as well. The Georgian security service though was keeping the situation under control in order to prevent this. The minister admitted that as long as the towns of Poti and Senaki were in the Zviadists' hands, the security of the railway movement on the Poti-Tbilisi section could not be guaranteed. He said the Zviadists stopped and robbed a train with grain intended for Armenia in Senaki yesterday.

Rebel, Government, Russian Forces Assessed

PM2210141793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Oct 93 First Edition p 1, 5

[Report by Valeriy Russo, correspondent for Russian military newspaper in the Caucasus, "exclusively for IZVESTIYA": "Georgian Government Troops Attack, but Authorities Put Trust in Armed People"]

[Text] Tbilisi—In the past 24 hours the epicenter of events in Georgia has shifted to the west of the republic. After warding off the 20 October dawn offensive by supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, government troops switched to all-out attack, forcing the enemy out of Kutaisi.

The rayon center of Lanchkhuti was liberated without fighting. Shortly before that over 50 of the ex-president's supporters were killed. Government troops managed to seize two enemy tanks. According to a report from the Georgian Republic Defense Ministry Press Center, the armed forces offensive is continuing. Admittedly the same source denied information from the "Novosti" program regarding the liberation of the city of Poti.

Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the Interim Committee for the State of Emergency, issued a statement to field commanders of Z. Gamsakhurdia's military formations proposing that they lay down their arms and surrender in a bid to halt the fratricidal war. As yet there has been no response from the other side.

The Georgian Republic Prosecutor's Office published its own statement 20 October shedding light on instances of looting and excesses by Zviadists against refugees from Abkhazia and Georgian Army servicemen retreating from the autonomous region. In the same statement Georgian legal system representatives appraise the actions of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his supporters as "genocide against their own people." In this connection the Republic of Georgia Prosecutor's Office issued a warrant for the arrest of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Loti Kobali, and their closest aides. They are charged under an article on "betrayal of the motherland."

Meanwhile, at the behest of the Union of the People of Tbilisi, a battalion named for Vakhtang Gorgasali has begun to be formed on the territory of the former USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] 8th Regiment. The ages of this unit's personnel range from 20 to 70 years. The purpose of setting up the unit is to train reserves who can be mobilized if need be as soon as required.

But despite the patriotic elan surrounding this act, there are many problems besetting the creation of a people's militia [narodnoye opolcheniye]. A recent rally in the Tbilisi Palace of Sport managed to fill just one stand, and that with difficulty. There is a serious shortage of people, although the overwhelming majority of inhabitants are enrolling for the people's militia.

In the process of forming the people's militia, Jaba Ioseliani and Georgiy Khaindrav, leader of the people's militia joint staff, are placing the emphasis on the principle of voluntary service, believing that every inhabitant of Georgia should, if need be, take up arms. But many fail to turn up at the assembly point after enrolling precisely because they lack an actual weapon.

However, not everybody in the republic approves of the idea of setting up a people's militia. Most opponents of this move can be encountered among the Georgian military, who believe that the main forces in the existing situation should be pumped into forming a strong regular Army. In their opinion, the time has come to reject the psychology of the gunman, drawn more toward anarchy than toward strict military discipline and fulfilling his commanders' orders. The main argument in defense of this stance is that the creation of structures parallel to the armed forces will undermine the unified command at the front and could lead to defeat, as happened in Abkhazia.

The situation that took shape in western Georgia and the subsequent appeal by Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze to the peoples and governments of Russia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan requesting help for the republic spawned a rumor about the alleged arrival in Kutaisi of an additional military contingent of Russian troops. This report was denied at the headquarters of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus [GRVZ]. The group command sees it as a provocation and considers that the official stance on the issue in question was expressed by Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev. At the same time it was stressed that a column of armored vehicles en route from Batumi to Kutaisi for the purpose of safeguarding the evacuation of military hardware and property belonging to the 35th Motorized Infantry Regiment which was being withdrawn was, to all appearances, taken for an additional contingent.

The atmosphere in Tbilisi itself remains relatively calm. Although often, particularly at night, the crackle of submachinegun fire can be heard. Despite the state of emergency and the curfew, crime levels leave something to be desired. In this connection, the city's commandant, Colonel Zaza Chachua, issued a statement to all citizens and persons returning from the region of combat operations demanding that weapons and ammunition be handed in by 2000 hours 20 October. Otherwise, they will be forcibly confiscated and the harshest measures provided for under the terms of the state of emergency will be applied against anybody declining to fulfill this demand. Some 15 hours have already passed since the stated deadline, but the the capital's Commandant's Office could give no information on the surrender of even one unit of weaponry.

The civil war in Western Georgia and the closure of road and rail links between the capital and the Black Sea ports has complicated the import of produce to Tbilisi. The situation with flour and wheat is particularly difficult, and reserves are virtually exhausted. In the light of this, according to information from competent sources, the introduction of bread rationing in the republic capital can be expected in the near future. Given that bread is all but the main element of nutrition in most families, this development will leave many inhabitants of Tbilisi in a position of prospective starvation.

Now a word about who is fighting against official Tbilisi, and with which forces.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia's feverish activity is understandable—his mandate as president expires 28 October. And he is trying every which way to win back his forsaken seat. In theory, he has the forces to do this—well armed detachments, manned not only by his supporters from among the local population but also by mercenaries from the north Caucasus, Russia, and other regions. For instance, according to statistics for September, his closest associate 52-year-old Loti Kobali, former peasant, former national guard commander, and now leader of a militarized formation, had between 500 and 600 fighters in his detachment, 10 tanks, between 20 and 30 APC's, howitzers, four "Grad" systems, and two Mi-8 helicopters. This proves that the ex-president does have sufficient forces.

Following events and Gamsakhurdia's actions since his return to Georgia, it can be concluded that his calls to go to Abkhazia were a well disguised pretense. In actual fact, during the conflict Gamsakhurdia gave his armed supporters this command: Conceal some of the armored hardware, feign maneuvers to the zone of combat operations to help Sukhumi, but do not get involved in the fighting. Furthermore, he instructed that not a single refugee should be left on the territory of Mingrelia.

It remains a mystery for many just why the government Army retreated so ingloriously. It is even being said that its leadership consists of less than competent people. It is easy to sit back and debate these issues while located somewhere in the capital. But why is it that nobody wants to take account of the fact that the majority of Georgian troop units were seriously demoralized after the defeat in Abkhazia and could not carry out effective combat operations against the ex-president's supporters.

Poor professional training of the armed forces personnel, especially the lowest command echelon, can be cited as another reason for the defeat. Although, equipped as they are with the hardware which was transferred to the Georgian side in line with the Tashkent Agreement (109 tanks, 168 armored vehicles, 76 artillery systems), it is possible to carry out a highly successful offensive against the Zviadists' armed formations.

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Obviously, all this plus the economic problems forced Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze to appeal to the peoples and governments of Russia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan for help.

Judging from the appeal, it can be assumed that the main burden in fulfilling this mission, if Russia agrees, will fall to GRVZ servicemen. Today, the GRVZ have become a veritable target: As Major General V. Belchenko, aide to the GRVZ commander responsible for working with personnel, announced, Russian servicemen are subject to attacks from Zviadists, from criminal elements, and from the official authorities. In such a situation, the majority of them are therefore hardly going to be pleased with the decision to make them into peacekeeping forces to protect the main railroads.

In 1991-1992 over 600 marauding attacks were carried out against Russian Army facilities in Georgia, as a result of which 71 Russian troops and family members died. In 1993, within the space of nine months, there have been 82 such attacks, as a result of which 267 firearms were stolen and 54 units of hardware seized. Over 10 people have died and more than 20 have been wounded. The servicemen were particularly outraged by the shooting of five servicemen in the city of Khobi by supporters of the ex-president.

Russian Officers, Tbilisi Officials Deny Joint Actions

Baluyevskiy Denies Troops in Poti Battle

LD2210133993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 22 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi October 22 TASS—Russian troops deployed in Transcaucasia do not take part in combat actions on the side of Georgian government troops and do not interfere in the internal affairs of Georgia. Major-General Yuriy Baluyevskiy, chief of staff of the Russian Army Group in Transcauscasia, told ITAR-TASS on Friday.

He denied media reports about Russian troops' alleged involvement in the battle for the Georgian port of Poti.

Gen Dyukov Denies Joint Military Actions

PM2210174693 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Alekseyev and Kirill Petrov: "Tbilisi Is Confusing Wishes With Reality"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The planned redeployment of the motorized infantry regiment from Kutaisi to Batumi continues. Convoys of hardware are proceeding along the so-called "lower road," which runs some

distance away from the zone of hostilities in Western Georgia. Some observers obviously took this redeployment of motorized infantry regiment subunits to be the start of participation by Russians in measures to protect the Poti-Tbilisi railroad. In this connection Major General Boris Dyukov, first deputy commander of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus, told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent in the morning of 22 October: "This information is incorrect. Until such time as there is an order from the Russian defense minister, we will not budge."

Meanwhile the Georgian mass media are continuing to claim that subunits of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus are conducting joint operations with government troops and allegedly helped them to take Poti and Khoni. This is disinformation, and independent experts believe that it is aimed at creating the appearance of successful operations at the front by Georgian government troops and encouraging Azerbaijan and Armenia to join the coalition of peacekeeping forces. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Denies CIS Participation

LD2210193293 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] Georgia's Defense Ministry denies the information spread by the Nega Information Agency about the alleged participation of the CIS forces and, in particular, the Russian tank troops, in combat actions for liberating the towns of Lanchkhuti and Khoni in west Georgia. The fact of the matter is that the CIS forces are going to participate in guarding the Poti-Tbilisi railway as it is a vital artery for Georgia and the neighboring states, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Russians Reportedly Planning Operations in West

PM2210173093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Oct 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Valeriy Russu: "According to a Report From Tbilisi, Russian Troops Are Planning Operations in Western Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The Georgian Defense Ministry reports: Government troops are continuing their offensive against supporters of the ex-president. According to information from other competent sources, at 2200 on 21 October fighting was taking place along the entire length of the Kutaisi-Poti route, but government troops had not yet succeeded in taking control of it.

Combat operations on the western front are under the direct control of Defense Minister General G. Karkarashvili, who has gone there together with the ministry's top people. The leader of Georgia's military department signed two orders. In accordance with these documents, from 0000 on 19 October G. Karkarashvili personally assumed overall leadership of units of the armed forces, the rescue corps, and the internal troops and other formations in the area of hostilities, and tasked the military police and internal affairs organs with stepping up the struggle to suppress instances of robbery and violence on the part of government troops against civilians in regions of combat operations and redeployment of troops. The participation of Russia's armed forces in operations against the supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia is mentioned in many reports in the republic's mass media. In particular, there was a report that units from the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus had assisted government troops in the taking of Khobi city. In this connection Major General B. Dyukov, first deputy commander of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus, stated that this is not in accordance with reality. There was only a conference at the group's headquarters on 21 October, at which, in accordance with a directive from Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and General Staff directives, a plan was drawn up for measures to protect Georgia's vital communications. According to the general, until such time as there is an order from Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General P. Grachev, units of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus will not undertake any actions, and the possibility of such actions is admitted only in the event that Armenia and Azerbaijan supply troop contingents.

According to Gen. Dyukov, what was taken for joint actions against Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters was most likely the measures to evacuate the 35th Motorized Infantry Regiment from Kutaisi. But B. Dyukov stressed: The unit's withdrawal is taking place by way of a road that runs at some distance from the Kutaisi-Poti route, around which fighting is in progress.

Meanwhile servicemen of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus are today saying good-bye to Major Anatoliy Smykov, an officer of the 35th Regiment, who, while on patrol 16 October, was wounded in the hip and, after losing a lot of blood, died in hospital in Kutaisi city. The events of the past month surrounding the Russian troop unit here prompts the thought that it is repeating the sad fate of the 366th Regiment, which was stationed at Stepanakert. All the indications are that that unit's bitter experience has taught many leaders nothing at all—the 35th Regiment was once again kept in the zone of hostilities until the last moment, and is now suffering losses in the course of evacuation.

From the Editorial Office: After receiving a report from Tbilisi on the formulation of plans for military support by Russian troops, our correspondent immediately contacted the Russian Federation Defense Ministry—to get them to confirm or deny the alarming reports. However, the Defense Ministry press center had precisely no information on this point. Most likely the military department has not yet had time to work out a convincing story for the press.

Russians Troops Not Yet Guarding Railway

LD2310082393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Chelidze, the official spokesman of the Georgian Parliament, has reported that Russian troops have still not started the operation to monitor railway communications in western Georgia. Chelidze noted that the plan for such an operation does exist, but there are still no signs that Russian troops have received the order to start operations. [passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia Warns Against Outside Interference

LD2210141093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] The command of the group of Russian troops in the Transcaucasus has compiled a plan to protect the railway from the town of Poti on the Black Sea to the borders of Azerbaijan and Armenia. At the same time, the command denies reports that its units are allegedly taking part in battles in Western Georgia.

Former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has warned against outside interference in the republic's internal affairs under the pretext of protecting communications. In his statement he stresses that this could lead to very serious consequences.

Gamsakhurdia Asks Ukraine To Withdraw Fighters

LD2310170293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1550 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Zugdidi, Georgia, 23 Oct—According to a report by the press service of State Independence of Ukraine (SIU) [Derzhavna Samostiynist Ukrainy—an extreme-right nationalist group], Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who still claims to be the president of Georgia, appealed to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk demanding the withdrawal of Ukrainian citizens who, the SIU press-service says, are fighting against Georgia's legitimate authority in violation of international agreements.

Abkhazia's Ardzinba 'Ready' To Negotiate

LD2110161993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—In an interview given to the Slovak newspaper SME, speaking of Russian-Abkhaz relations, Vladislav Ardzinba, the leader of the Gudauta group, said that Russia failed to fully perform its role as the guarantor of the agreement. Hence, it has to assume certain responsibilities. He presumed that relations between this country and Abkhazia should gradually return to normal notwithstanding the present blockade being held. This blockade is a "severe pressure" and affects ordinary people.

Speaking of the dissolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet, known for its pro-Abkhaz sentiments, Ardzinba noted that Abkhazia was receiving decisive support not from the president or parliament, but from the Russian people.

Ardzinba said he was ready to sit at the negotiating table with Eduard Shevardnadze provided the rights of the Abkhaz people for self-determination were respected.

Supreme Council Warns 'Foreigners' in Abkhazia

LD2310114993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Statement by Georgian Supreme Council juridical committee on 22 October]

[Text] As a result of the separatist and the foreign gang intervention, the Abkhaz region of the Republic of Georgia has temporarily been occupied. Despite this, according to the norms of modern international law, the territory remains an indivisible part of sovereign Georgia and the laws and enforcable enactments of the Republic of Georgia continue to be in force there.

The Abkhaz separatists, in alliance with the foreign gangs of mercenaries, having committed a military crime—a genocide directed against peace and humanity—shot Georgian civilians in Abkhazia, according to the national trait. They carried out ethnic cleansing, drove thousands of people from their homes, and turned them into refugees. Moreover, to the end of deepening the demographic aggression, the houses of the forcibly displaced are being inhabited by foreigners.

The juridical commission declares that according to the statute on foreigners and the laws of the Republic of Georgia, every foreigner who, having breached the above-mentioned law and entered Abkhazia, must immediately leave the territory of Georgia; otherwise they will be forced out. As for those foreign mercenaries who participated in combat actions against Georgia and committed a military crime—genocide, a crime against peace and the humanity—they will not be permitted to leave the territory of the republic until they serve their sentence.

[Dated] 22 October, 1993.

Defense Minister Supports Union With Russia

LD2310195993

[Editorial report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1630 GMT on 23 October carries a 3-minute telephone report by Iprinda news agency correspondent Zurab Dvali on the military situation in western Georgia.

Dvali says that after their success in capturing a number of towns the previous day, Georgian Government forces were consolidating their gains and planning new operations.

"According to the republic's defense minister, Georgiy Karkarashvili, the situation in Georgia is gradually stabilizing. His views on the country's entry into the CIS are interesting. He is perhaps the only minister not to have recently expressed an opinion on this issue. As far as I personally am concerned, Karkarashvili stressed, I am for a union with Russia, like with a friend. It is just regrettable that we were unable to enter this union on equal terms and not in the state we are now in, the head of the republic's defence department observed.

"It should also be noted that after again stressing that this was his personal view, the minister said that a union with Russia was dearer to him than one with, for instance, Turkey or Iran, or even with the United States, which are a long way away from Georgia. But he again stressed that this was conditional upon Russia and Georgia mutually looking after each other's interests."

Dvali then said that in connection with the confusion over the role of the Russian Army in western Georgia, he had contacted the headquarters of the Transcaucasus Group of Russian Troops for clarification.

"They informed us that no specific order on when to begin to carry out the well-known instruction to take the republic's main railway lines under control had yet been received from Moscow. This in spite of the fact that the Georgian head of state, as it has emerged, yesterday met the head of the Group's operational staff, Major General Yuriy Baluyevskiy. At the meeting, they worked on the specific details of joint measures for implementing control over the railways."

Dvali went on to comment on the news that Shevardnadze had signed a decree on Georgia joining the CIS.

"It is curious that the head of state's press secretary first of all did not confirm this news and then told an Iprinda agency correspondent that nothing out of the ordinary had occurred. Eduard Shevardnadze had simply formally registered his well-known statement on Georgia joining the CIS. The only sense that I managed to make out of this was that the decree of the head of state that had caused such a sensation had been registered as No. 202."

Estonia

Laar Discusses EC Prospects, Adviser's Resignation

WS2210143393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0840 GMT 22 Oct 93

[From 22 October RAHVA HAAL, PAEVALEHT, HOMMIKULEHT, pp 1, 3-4]

[Excerpt] Friday, October 22—Prime Minister Mart Laar returned from Brussels yesterday and held a news conference in the airport. He assured that Estonia has excellent chances to become the first East European country to conclude a free trade agreement with the EC, "provided the current policy will be continued." Mart Laar, the Bank of Estonia President Siim Kallas and vice-president of the EC Commission Henning Christophersen signed a 20 million ECU loan agreement. However, the journalists were more interested in the internal matters.

Laar confirmed that his advisor Tiit Pruuli intends to resign for health reasons, aggravated by intensive work. He failed to give definite answers to the questions on the "Liviko" affair, explaining that he had not yet received adequate information. Laar agreed with the journalists' remark that different crises and confusions seem to coincide with his absence. "It seems that I should be chained to Estonia to prevent further emergencies," he said. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Addresses Farmers Picketing Parliament

WS2210110993 Tallinn BNS in English 1733 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Tallinn, Oct 21, BNS—Hundreds of farmers from all corners of the country have gathered for a protest rally in front of the parliament and government building at Toompea Hill in Tallinn. They demand the bodies of state power hasten to work out a program for the development of rural life and agriculture to secure the preservation of a normal environment in the country.

The farmers carry anti-government slogans.

The demands package presented to the government and the parliament states that agricultural production is consistently falling. The outcome of the state's policy is that the area sown with winter grain is one quarter of that sown last year; the number of cattle is diminishing; the questions of providing farms with electricity and building roads are unsolved; the number of the jobless in the country is on the increase, etc.

The farmers demand the parliament and the government examine the issues raised at farmers' congresses and take urgent steps to solve them. They also want them to adopt a new agricultural policy, give all-round support to agriculture as the basis of rural life, take steps to preserve and develop educational and cultural life in the countryside, etc.

The parliament should introduce a taxation system favoring the development of agriculture, the farmers say. They also want the legislators to review and amend the bill on forests that, in their opinion, obstructs land reform and rural economy, and to reject the draft budget for 1994 that does not sufficiently take into account the needs of agriculture.

The chairman of the Estonian Agricultural Producers Central Federation, Andres Varik, told BNS that the organizers of the protest rally were unaware the draft budget is up for the first reading in the parliament today. In Varik's opinion the protest action was well timed. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Mart Laar who just returned from a visit to Belgium addressed the rally. He said the Cabinet attempts to solve the situation through low-rate credits and an anti-dumping law.

"Claims that the government wants to put an end to agriculture are not true," the premier said. "I have in my pocket an agreement that allows you in the future to sell your produce in Europe without restrictions," he said.

The prime minister's speech was many times interrupted, including with calls of "We don't need to go to Europe."

Should the government and the parliament not accept the farmers' demands, the latter plan to hold soon a mock burial of Estonian agriculture at Toompea.

Ruling Party Meets Press, Views 'Severe' Election Losses

WS2210143493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2051 GMT 21 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Tallinn, October 21—Estonian ruling Fatherland party that suffered severe losses at local municipality elections on October 17, commented on the results of the elections as not entirely satisfactory but giving no cause to "wail".

Ivo Rull, secretary general of the Fatherland party, told a news conference on Thursday, that 150 of 653 Fatherland candidates (23 per cent of those who stood) were elected to local municipalities, and "no other party had achieved a comparable result".

Fatherland was especially unsuccessful in big cities which according to Rull could be explained by Fatherland not turning to populism. "We did not distribute milk free of charge (as one of the election lists, "Tartu", did), humanitarian aid or simply unfounded promises," Rull stressed. Another reason for failure was the "continuous and often slapdash criticism" of the opposition, Rull said.

Rull added it was regrettable that many people thought it necessary to return to former leaders at the elections, which could "have negative effects on Estonia's way to market economy". [passage omitted]

Latvia

Ulmanis, Germany's Weizsaecher Discuss Ties

LD2310130893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 93

[Text] On 22 October, German President Richard von Weizsaecker arrived from Vilnius on a two-day visit to Latvia. At Riga airport the distinguished guest and his wife were welcomed by Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis and his wife, by Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, by the German Ambassador to Latvia, Count Lambsdorff, and by other officials. Both countries' anthems were played, and from the airport the distinguished guest set off for the residence of the Latvian president.

In their hour-long talk at (?Majkapara) House, the two presidents discussed several issues. There was talk of Latvia's possible entry into the Council of Europe and Germany's support for this process.

The talks also focused on Latvia's relations with Russia. President Weizsaecker reiterated long ago that Germany expressed the view that Russian troops must be withdrawn quickly, completely, and in a civilized way; that is, by concluding treaties on the schedule for the withdrawal and including other stipulations. There was detailed discussion of how to bring about more effective foreign assistance for the Baltic countries.

Germany, too, has granted huge sums to Russia to accelerate the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic lands. Yet it seems that this money has fallen into a black hole, because no one has noticed anything anywhere—except perhaps in some Swiss bank account. That is how Von Weizsaecker described the result of assisting Russia.

The participants in the talks noted that Germany's example can serve as a positive one in the way it has built housing for Russian officers who left Germany. The German president stated that Latvia should also conclude such agreement, and offered consultative assistance on how to conclude such an agreement.

At the conclusion of the talks, President Ulmanis turned to the issue of perfecting relations between the two countries. Regarding the proposal for a visa-free regime between the two countries, Mr. Von Weizsaecker gave a positive response, adding that here relations must be arranged between several interested countries and departments.

'Mutual Understanding' Reached

LD2310140293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Today the German president again met Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis. He related what was discussed at the press conference.

[Begin Ulmanis recording] The issue that we discussed, using Latvia as a bridge between East and West, once more convinced us that a dialogue must be forged, contacts must be sought, and we must [word indistinct] the situation that currently prevails between Russia and Latvia. We also examined the issue of Skrunda. I gave information about all aspects of it. I hope we will have a certain support, (?after some time; I also brought up the issue of material rehabilitation of the victims of Nazism). As you know, the Baltic countries have been listened to by Germany with understanding, and I think that in this respect a certain mutual understanding has been achieved. This meeting is one more step toward Latvia and Germany finally having friendly, neighborly relations that have a definite basis, especially in direct economic, as well as cultural, educational [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Weizsaecker Supports Troop Withdrawal

LD2310171293 Berlin ADN in German 1315 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Riga (ADN)—According to German President Richard von Weizsaecker, Germany supports Latvian demands for the speedy and complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic republic. In this matter, Germany was on Latvia's side, Weizsaecker said at a joint news conference with President Guntis Ulmanis in Riga today. The German president, who said his two days of talks in Latvia had been very positive, also promised that Germany would settle Latvian compensation demands for victims of the Nazi occupation during the Second World War in a clear and reasonable way.

Weizsaecker stressed that Germany would support Latvia's further integration into the European structures and would advocate the conclusion of a free trade agreement with the Baltic republic within the European Community. In his view, Latvia could become a "bridge to the East" for Europe. Weizsaecker arrived in Riga yesterday from neighboring Lithuania. In his talks with President Ulmanis, parliamentary chairman Anatoliy Gorbunovs, and Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs, he also discussed the economic and political reforms currently under way in Latvia and the situation of the non-Latvian population in the Baltic republic. The guest stressed the interest of the Western democracies in the integration of these nationalities into the republic's affairs. About half of the people living in Latvia are Russian-speaking.

Today Weizsaecker laid a wreath in memory of the fallen soldiers at the German military cemetery in Riga. Yesterday, he took flowers to the Freedom Monument.

Russian-Language Press Denied Access to U.S. Secretary's Visit

LD2310183693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] Although the arrival in Latvia of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is expected on 26 October, the

organizers of his visit have already given grounds for concern at the editorial offices of the republic's Russian-language newspapers. They all have been refused accreditation at the upcoming meeting of the secretary of state with representatives of the Russian-speaking population. Incidentally, the Russian mass media have also been refused accreditation. An exception is being made for ITAR-TASS. The number of those invited was supposedly determined by the U.S. security services. The reason given for the refusal is the small size of the location.

Prime Minister Holds Talks With Ukrainian Charge d'Affaires

LD2310141093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 23 Oct 93

[Text] As the Ukrainian Embassy's press service reported on Friday, Ukraine's charge d'affaires, (Volodymyr Chualny), met in Riga with Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs to discuss a broad range of issues of mutual interest including Ukrainian-Latvian bilateral relations.

Both sides had to admit that somewhat chaotic economic relations between the two countries on a commercial structure level demanded establishment of an intergovernmental legal basis for promoting Ukrainian-Latvian more orderly and comprehensive economic cooperation. [sentence as heard]

Both sides agreed to expediate [as heard] national legislative effort toward unified and standardized approaches to customs procedures, curbing smuggling, visa insurance procedures, and a simplified procedure for housing exchanges involving individuals wishing to leave either country and join their respective ethnic population.

Russian Army Refuses To Hand Over Riga Tank Repair Plant

PM2210150193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Oct 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak report: "Tanks in Battle Formation"]

[Text] Riga—Representatives of the Russian Army have refused to hand over the tank repair plant in Riga to the Latvian authorities.

According to a decree adopted by Latvia in 1992, enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces of the former USSR were unilaterally declared the property of Latvia. But the command of the Northwestern Group of Forces justly believes that such questions should be resolved through state talks. The Latvian militia has blockaded the plant's entrances and exits.